BULLETIN

OF

THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

MANCHESTER

EDITED BY

THE LIBRARIAN

VOLUME II

1927

Reprinted by permission of The John Rylands Library
KRAUS REPRINT LIMITED
Nendeln/Liechtenstein
1967

Printed in Germany

Lessing-Druckerei – Wiesbaden

CONTENTS.

PAGE

Notes and News: 1, 233

Changes in Personnel of the Council of the J. R. L., 1; Review of the Work of the Library, 2; Much needed Extension of Buildings, 4; Gifts and Bequests, 12; Exportation and Destruction of Historical Documents, 16; A new Series of Syriac Writers, 19, 243; Accessions to the Library, 5, 245; Quincentenary of the University of Louvain, 233; Centenary of William Blake, 236; Revival of Greek Drama, 238; Mantua honours Vergil, 238; Proposed Portrait of Dr. A. W. Pollard, 239; Museums and National Life, 240; Jubilee of the Library Association, 242; Professor Farquhar appointed Wilde Lecturer, 243; Public Lectures, 244.

Alexander (S.). Art and Nature 256

Farquhar (J. N.). The Apostle Thomas in South India . . . 20

Fish (T.). The Cult of the King Dungi during the Third Dynasty of Ur 322

Grensted (L. W.). Apollo in the Sky 51

Harris (J. R.). Further Traces of Hittite Migration 57

—— Glass Chalices of the First Century 286

—— Woodbrooke Studies, Fasc. 2. (i) A New Jeremiah Apocryphon; (ii) A New Life of John the Baptist; (iii) Some Uncanonical Psalms 329

Herford (C. H.). Shakespeare and the Arts 273

Mingana (A.). Kitāb ud Dīn Wa-d-Daulah 99

—— Syrian Influences on the Ḳur'ān 77

—— and Harris (J. R.). Woodbrooke Studies, Fasc. 1. (i) A Treatise of Barṣalībi against the Melchites; (ii) Genuine and Apocryphal Works of Ignatius of Antioch 110

Peake (A. S.). Elijah and Jezebel 296

Rand (E. K.). St. Martin of Tours 101

THE TRUSTEES, GOVERNORS, AND OFFICIALS OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

TRUSTEES:

The EARL OF CRAWFORD AND BALCARRES, K.T., P.C., etc.
GERARD N. FORD, J.P.
The MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, M.P.
Sir ALFRED HOPKINSON, K.C., LL.D., etc.
W. ARNOLD LINNELL.
Sir HENRY A. MIERS, D.Sc., F.R.S., etc.
Sir EVAN SPICER, J.P.

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNORS:*

WILLIAM DAVY.
GERARD N. FORD, J.P.
C. H. HERFORD, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A.
L. B. KASTNER, M.A., Litt.D.
J. W. MARSDEN, J.P.
HENRY PLUMMER, J.P.
F. M. POWICKE, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A.
H. BOMPAS-SMITH, M.A., M.Ed.
Sir WILLIAM STEPHENS, J.P.

CO-OPTATIVE GOVERNORS:*

The Rt. Rev. The BISHOP OF MANCHESTER, D.D.
The Rev. W. E. BLOMFIELD, D.D.
The Rev. A. J. D. FARRER, B.A.
J. GOODIER HAWORTH, M.A., J.P.
The Rev. GEORGE JACKSON, B.A., D.D.
The Rev. R. MACKINTOSH, M.A., D.D.
A. S. PEAKE, M.A., D.D., etc.
The Rev. F. J. POWICKE, M.A., Ph.D.

* *The Representative and Co-optative Governors constitute the Council.*

HONORARY GOVERNORS:†

Sir A. HOPKINSON, K.C., LL.D., etc.
The Rt. Rev. BISHOP W. E. KNOX, D.D.
Sir W. H. VAUDREY, J.P.
The LORD MAYOR OF MANCHESTER.
The MAYOR OF SALFORD.
THOMAS F. TOUT, M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A.
Sir HENRY A. MIERS, D.Sc., F.R.S., etc.

† *Honorary Governors are not Members of the Council.*

Chairman of Council ...	A. S. PEAKE, M.A., D.D., etc.
Vice-Chairman	J. W. MARSDEN, J.P.
Hon. Treasurer	J. GOODIER HAWORTH, M.A., J.P.
Hon. Secretary	GERARD N. FORD, J.P.
Librarian	HENRY GUPPY, M.A., D.Ph. et Litt.
Sub-Librarian	GUTHRIE VINE, M.A.
Manuscript Department...	ALPHONSE MINGANA, D.D.
Assistant-Secretary... ...	JAMES JONES.
Assistant-Librarians ...	JULIAN PEACOCK; W. W. ROBERTS, B.A.; MABEL WOODCOCK, M.A.; ANNIE B. RANKIN, B.A.; T. MURGATROYD; RONALD HALL.
Assistants	V. D. SHREWSBURY; W. HORSFALL; T. WHITTAKER.

RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

1. The use of the Library is restricted to purposes of research and reference, and under no pretence whatever must any Book, Manuscript, or Map be removed from the building.

2. The Library is open to holders of Readers' Tickets daily, as follows: Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. Tuesdays and Fridays, from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. Saturdays, from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m.

   The Library will be closed on Sundays, Good Friday to the following Tuesday, Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Bank Holidays, and the whole of Whit-week.

3. Persons desirous of being admitted to read in the Library must apply in writing to the Librarian, specifying their profession or business, their place of abode, and the particular purpose for which they seek admission.*

4. Every such application must be made at least two clear days before admission is required, and must bear the signature and full address of a person of recognised position, whose address can be identified from the ordinary sources of reference, certifying from personal knowledge of the applicant that he or she will make proper use of the Library.

5. If such application or recommendation be unsatisfactory, the Librarian shall withhold admission and submit the case to the Council of Governors for their decision.

6. The Tickets of Admission, which are available for twelve months, are not transferable, and must be produced when required.

7. No person under eighteen years of age is admissible, except under a special order from the Council of Governors.

8. Readers may not write upon, damage, turn down the leaves, or make any mark upon any Book, Manuscript, or Map belonging to the Library; nor may they lay the paper on which they are writing upon any Book, Manuscript, or Map.

9. The erasure of any mark or writing on any Book, Manuscript, or Map is strictly prohibited.

10. No tracing shall be allowed to be made without express permission of the Librarian.

11. Books in the Open Reference Shelves may be consulted without any formality, but after use they are to be left on the tables instead of being replaced on the shelves.

12. Other books may be obtained by presenting to the Assistant at the counter one of the printed application slips properly filled up.

* Forms of Application for Reader's Ticket may be had on application to the Librarian.

13. Readers before leaving the Library are required to return to the Assistant at the counter all Books, Manuscripts, or Maps for which they have given tickets, and must reclaim their tickets. Readers are held responsible for such Books, Manuscripts, or Maps so long as the tickets remain uncancelled.

14. Books of great value and rarity may be consulted only in the presence of the Librarian or one of his Assistants.

15. Readers before entering the Library must deposit all wraps, canes, umbrellas, parcels, etc., at the Porter's Lodge in the Vestibule, and receive a check for same.

16. Conversation, loud talking, and smoking are strictly prohibited in every part of the building.

17. Readers are not allowed in any other part of the building save the Library without a special permit.

18. Readers and visitors to the Library are strictly forbidden to offer any fee or gratuity to any attendant or servant.

19. Any infringement of these Rules will render the privilege of admission liable to forfeiture.

20. The privilege of admission is granted upon the following conditions:—
    (*a*) That it may at any time be suspended by the Librarian.
    (*b*) That it may at any time be withdrawn by the Council of Governors.

21. Complaints about the service of the Library should be made to the Librarian immediately after the occurrence of the cause for complaint, and if written must be signed with the writer's name and address.

22. All communications respecting the use of the Library must be addressed to the Librarian.

HENRY GUPPY.

N.B.—It is earnestly requested that any Reader observing a defect in or damage to any Book, Manuscript, or Map will point out the same to the Librarian.

ADMISSION OF THE GENERAL PUBLIC AND VISITORS.

The general public are admitted to view the Library on Tuesday and Friday afternoons between the hours of two and six. Visitors to Manchester from a distance, at any other time when the Library is open, will be admitted for the same purpose upon application to the Librarian.

BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

EDITED
BY THE
LIBRARIAN

VOL. 11 JANUARY, 1927 No. 1

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

WE must apologize for the belated appearance of the present issue of the BULLETIN. Publication has been unavoidably delayed in consequence of the editor's absence from England during the greater part of the last three months of the old year. It is hoped that the July and the succeeding issues will appear with their accustomed regularity.

CHANGES IN THE PERSONNEL OF THE COUNCIL OF THE J.R.L.

At the annual meeting of the Council of Governors of the John Rylands Library held on the 24th of January, Professor A. S. Peake, M.A., D.D. (Aberdeen), D.D. (Oxford) was elected Chairman in succession to Sir Henry Miers, who resigned his seat on the Council in consequence of his removal to London.

Professor Peake is the sole surviving active member of the original Council of eighteen governors, appointed by Mrs. Rylands in 1899, and consequently has been for twenty-seven years actively associated with the administration of the Library. During the past six years he has occupied the position of Vice-Chairman of the Council.

Mr. J. W. Marsden, J.P., has been elected Vice-Chairman of the Council in succession to Professor Peake.

Sir Henry Miers, in tendering his resignation, expressed regret at being compelled to take this step, for his association with the Library had been one of the great delights of his life in Manchester.

Sir Henry Miers was appointed by the Council of the University as a representative governor in succession to Sir Alfred Hopkinson, in January, 1918. He was elected to the Chairmanship of the Council in 1921, which had been rendered vacant by the death of Sir George

Macalpine. For nine years Sir Henry served the Library with untiring devotion, and his colleagues marked their grateful appreciation of his services by electing him an Honorary Governor, the only honour that it is within their power to confer. His genial presence and wise counsel will be greatly missed, not only by his colleagues, but by every official of the institution.

The vacancy caused in the University's representation on the Council by the retirement of Sir Henry Miers has been filled by the appointment of the present Vice-Chancellor, Dr. W. H. Moberly, D.S.O., M.A., D.Litt. By this appointment an unbroken succession of Vice-Chancellors on the Council of the Library is maintained.

Another vacancy on the Council was caused by the resignation of the Rev. Dr. Blomfield, Principal of Rawdon College, Leeds, of his seat as a co-optative governor, in consequence of his removal to the South of England upon his retirement from the Principalship of Rawdon. This vacancy has been filled by the appointment of the new Principal of Rawdon College, the Rev. Dr. A. C. Underwood, M.A., B.Litt., D.D.

REVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE LIBRARY.

As we review the work of the Library during the past year, we find evidence of uninterrupted progress along well-established lines rather than in new developments of outstanding importance. It has been a period of sustained activity.

The possession of so great an inheritance of literary treasures has naturally caused the Library to become a place of pilgrimage not only to the lover of rare books, but also to a large and increasing number of students who have given themselves to the cause of learning. It has been with a view of rendering assistance and encouragement to such students, many of whom are engaged in special branches of study and original investigation, that the Library has been developed by the provision of the best authorities in the various departments of knowledge which come within its scope, until it has become a first class laboratory for historical, literary, and theological investigation.

We had hoped that long ere this there would have been a return to more normal conditions in respect of the cost of administration and maintenance. Unfortunately, there has not yet been any appreciable reduction in those items of expenditure which rose so disastrously high

during, and even since, the years of the war, and which constitute the first charge on the Library's income.

In pre-war days the income of the Library was considered to be adequate to meet not only the cost of maintenance and ordinary book-purchase, but also to allow of the creation of a reserve fund from which to meet such contingencies as are represented by exceptional items of book-purchase, by dilapidations, and by building extensions. Such, however, have been the effects of the war and of present-day unrest that an income which was ample for all purposes in 1914 is now barely sufficient to meet the ordinary needs of the institution, if it is to be kept abreast of the times, so as to satisfy the needs of its clientèle, apart from any considerations of additions to the reserve fund. Indeed, it is only by the exercise of the strictest economy, coupled with restraint in the matter of book-purchase, that it has been possible to keep the expenditure within the limits of income.

We can only hope that some enlightened benefactor will conceive the idea of taking up the work so splendidly inaugurated by Mrs. Rylands, and by so doing assist the Governors not only to carry it on in the spirit and intention of the founder, but to develop it upon the lines which shall yield still greater results in the stimulation of original investigation, and in the encouragement of scholarship.

One of the outstanding features of the use made of the Library during the year under review is the large amount of original research which has been conducted by students, not only from our own universities, but also by scholars from other countries.

A constantly increasing number of students from other universities including Oxford and Cambridge make considerable use of the Library during vacation, and as evidence of their appreciation of the facilities which the Library offers, we need only quote from a letter received quite recently in which the writer says :—

> "I never cease to be thankful for the existence of the John Rylands Library. Quite the pleasantest hours of my vacation are spent under its hospitable roof."

Every encouragement is given to such readers, with the result that such has been the increase in their numbers that the seating capacity of the Library has been severely taxed, at times to the point of congestion, and the need, if the present standard of service is to be maintained, for increased accommodation is again emphasized.

Admirable as the building was from the architectural point of view, and possessing as it did many other excellent qualities, it became evident within a few years of the opening of the Library that adequate provision had not been made for the requirements of such an institution, or for the growth and development of its collections.

MUCH NEEDED EXTENSION OF BUILDINGS.

Representations were made to the founder, who was still happily able to take interest and pleasure in watching the development of the institution which owes its existence to her enlightened munificence, and with her usual readiness to listen to any proposals which were calculated to increase its efficiency and usefulness, Mrs. Rylands at once entered into the proposals; but her lamented death took place before the arrangements in pursuance of her intentions could be completed.

The matter was then taken up by the Governors, and land was acquired at the rear and immediately adjacent to the Library, covering an area of 1200 square yards.

A scheme for the utilization of the land was prepared in 1912, in which provision was made to meet the need of book storage by means of steel stacks, which in the completed scheme will give accommodation for 700,000 volumes. Other requirements were a new and adequately lighted manuscript room; additional accommodation for readers, which is to be met by the provision of a new reading-room reserved for special research, where specially rare books can be consulted under the necessary safeguards; and much needed work-rooms for the staff.

Mr. Basil Champneys, the architect of the original structure, was instructed to prepare designs for the contemplated extension, in which the spirit and character of the original building should be maintained, and in such a way that the work could be carried out in two sections.

In 1913, work upon the first portion of the scheme was commenced, but such were the delays and difficulties encountered in consequence of the war, that it was not until 1920 that this first section of the new building was ready for occupation.

The immediate cause for anxiety in the matter of book storage was for a time removed; but the need for further accommodation is again becoming urgent, and it will be necessary in the near future to consider ways and means for carrying out the deferred portion of the

scheme, under which the requirements of the Library, both in respect of book storage, and also of seating accommodation for readers, for at least the remainder of the century will have been fully anticipated.

The situation at the present time is that we are in possession of the land and also of the sketch plans for this much-needed extension, but something like £200,000 will be required before the work can be put in hand.

The provision of such a sum is quite beyond the resources of the Library, and we can only hope that some one richly dowered as was the founder of this institution, who has not yet given thought as to the disposition of his or her wealth, may be induced to follow the example of Mrs. Rylands and dedicate some of the remaining years of life to such a worthy object as this, and by so doing invest it with a new and larger interest.

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The following titles represent a selection of the works which have been added to the shelves of the Library since the publication of our last issue.

ART: Oursel (C.), "La miniature du 12me siècle à l'Abbaye de Citeaux, d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Dijon," 4to; Sapori (F.), "Gli adornatori del libro in Italia," vols. 3-5, 4to; Bordeaux (C.), "L'art Egyptien," Illus., 4to; Migeon (G.), "Les arts musulmans," Illus., 4to; Luquet (G. H.), "L'art et la religion des hommes fossiles," 8vo; Cahier (Ch.), "Caractéristiques des saints dans l'art populaire," Paris, 1867, 2 vols., Fol.; Foster (J. J.), "A dictionary of painters of miniatures, edited by E. H. Foster," 8vo; Ebersolt (Jean), "La miniature byzantine," Fol.; Guibert (J.), "Le Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale," 8vo; Marcais, (G.), "Manuel d'art musulman," tome 1, 8vo; Mattingly (H.), "The Roman Imperial Coinage," vol. 2, 8vo; Lasteyrie (R. de), "L'architecture religieuse en France à l'époque gothique," tome 1, 4to; Binyon (L.), "The engraved designs of William Blake," 4to; Mew (E.), "Battersea enamels, 1750-1756," 78 plates, 4to; Couderc (C.), "Les enlumineurs des manuscrits du moyen age, du 6e au 15e siècle," Fol.; "Ars Asiatica, IX: Binyon (L.), Chinese paintings in English collections," 4to; Russell (C. E.), "English mezzotint portraits and their states: catalogue of corrections of and additions to Chaloner Smith's 'British

mezzotint portraits,'" 2 vols., 4to and Fol.; Humphreys (A. L.), "Old decorative maps and charts," Fol.; Aubert (M.), "La sculpture française du moyen âge et de la renaissance," 8vo; Nicole (G.), "La peinture des vases," 8vo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Polain (L.), "Marques des imprimeurs et libraires en France au 15e siècle," 4to; Palau y Dulcet (A.), "Manual del librero Hispano-Americano," tome 5: M-O, 8vo; Bartholomew (A. T.), "A bibliography of Sir A. W. Ward, with a memoir by T. F. Tout," 8vo; Bibliothèque Nationale: "Inventaire sommaire de la collection Joly de Fleury," 1881, 8vo; Du Peloux (Vicomte C.), "Répertoire générale des ouvrages modernes relatifs au 18e siècle français, 1715-1789," 8vo; Salvá y Mallen (P.), "Catalogo de la biblioteca de Salva," 1872, 2 vols., 4to; Mazzatinti, (G), "Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia," tome 26, 8vo; Roth (C.) und Schmidt (P.), "Handschriftproben zur Basle Geistgeschichte des 15 und 16 Jahrhunderts," Fol.; Schramm (A.), "Der Bilderschmuck der Fruehdrucke, 9: Die Drucke in Esslingen, Urach, Stuttgart, etc.," Fol.

HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY: Spengler (O.), "The decline of the West: a history of the future," 8vo; Schnee (H.), "German colonization past and future," 8vo; Paine (A. Bigelow), "Joan of Arc: maid of France," 2 vols., 8vo; Clarke (Sir E.), "Benjamin Disraeli: the romance of a great career," 8vo; Porteus (T. C.), "The history of Standish Parish, Lancashire," 8vo; Geigy (Ch.), "Handbook of facsimiles of autographs of famous personages," 4to; Pinza (G.), "Storia della civilta latina dall origini al 5 sec. A.C.," 200 plates, 3 vols., 8vo; Jarrett (B.), "Social theories of the middle ages, 1200-1500," 8vo; Luschin von Ebengreuth (A.), "Allgemeine Kuenzkunde und Goldgeschichte des Mittelalters und Neuernzeit," 8vo; Raphael (H. F.), "The romance of English Almshouses," 8vo; Coleman (A. P.), "Ice ages recent and ancient," 8vo; "Calendar of pleas and memoranda rolls preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall, A.D. 1323-1364; edited by A. H. Thomas," 8vo; Seyn (Eugène de), "Dictionnaire historique et géographique des communes Belges," 1924-1925, 2 vols., 8vo; Wrong (E. H.), "Charles Buller and responsible government," 8vo; Talbot (P. Amaury), "The peoples of Southern Nigeria: a sketch of their history, ethnology, and languages," 3 vols., 8vo; Stephenson

(Hill), "A list of monumental brasses in the British Isles," 8vo; Cranage (D. H. S.), "The home of the monk: an account of English monastic life and buildings in the middle ages," 8vo; "Collection de textes pour servir à l'histoire de Provence, publiée sous les auspices de Prince Louis ii de Monaco," tomes 1 à 5, 8vo; Julien (C.), "Histoire de la Gaule, tome 7: les empereurs de Trèves," 8vo; "Annuaire de la Société d'Etudes Byzantins," tomes 1-2 (1924-1925), 8vo; Trend (J. B.), "The music of Spanish history to 1600," 8vo; Ellis (T. P.), "Welsh tribal law and custom in the middle ages," 2 vols., 8vo; Hutton (W. H.), "Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury," 8vo; Kehr (P.), "Das Papsttum und der Katalanische Prinzipat bis zur vereinigung mit Aragon." 8vo; Bourrilly (V. L.), "Essai sur l'histoire politique de la commune de Marseille des origines à la victoire de Charles d'Anjou (1264)," 8vo; Archbold (W. A. J.), "Outlines of Indian Constitutional history, British period," 8vo; Abbott (E.), "Historical aspect of the immigration problems: select documents," 8vo; Egerton (T. E.), "A short history of British colonial policy," 8vo; Jones (N.), "The stone age in Rhodesia," 8vo; Hertslet (E.), "The map of Europe by treaty," 1875, 3 vols., 8vo; Foster (Sir W.), "John Company," 8vo; Loisel (G.), "Histoire des menageries de l'antiquité à nos jours," 3 vols., 8vo; Dill (Sir S.), "Roman society in Gaul in the Merovingian age," 8vo; Asquith (H. H., Earl), "Fifty years of Parliament," 2 vols., 8vo; Hearnshaw (F. J. C.), "The political principles of some notable Prime Ministers in the 19th century," 8vo; De Castro (J. P.), "The Gordon Riots," 8vo; Khan (S. A.), "Sources for the history of British India in the 17th century," 8vo; Henry (R. L.), "Contracts in the local courts of mediæval England," 8vo; Mackay (R. A.), "The unreformed Senate of Canada," 8vo; Munro (W. B.), "The governments of Europe," 8vo; Harvey (D. C.), "The French régime in Prince Edward Island," 8vo; Long (B.), "The genesis of the constitution of the United States of America," 8vo; Rippy (J. F.), "The United States and Mexico, 1821-1924," 8vo; Adams (G. B.), "Councils and courts in Anglo-Norman England," 8vo; Farrar (C. F.), "Old Bedford: the town of Harper, Bunyan, and Howard," 8vo; Mills (J. P.), "The Ao Nagas," 8vo; Ward (F. K.), "The riddle of the Tsangpo Gorges," 8vo; Baikie (J.), "The Amarna age: a study of the crisis

of the ancient world," 8vo ; Hambly (W. D.), "Tribal dancing and social development," 8vo ; "Report of the Commission upon certain controversies between the orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Arab orthodox community ; by Sir A. Bertram and J. W. A. Young," 8vo ; Rostovtzeff (M.), "A history of the ancient world, vol. 1 : the Orient and Greece," 8vo ; Gann (T.), "Ancient cities and modern tribes." 8vo ; Pares (B.), "A history of Russia," 8vo ; Wood (W. A. R.), "A history of Siam," 8vo ; Ramsbottom (R. B.), "Studies in the land revenue history of Bengal, 1769-1787," 8vo ; Hambly (W. D.), "Origins of education among primitive peoples," 8vo ; Pagan (T.), "The Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland," 8vo ; "Registi di bandi, editti, notificazioni e provvedimenti diversi relativi alla citta di Roma," 2 vols., 8vo ; Mathieson (W. M.), "British slavery and its abolition, 1823-38," 8vo ; Willard (T. A.), "The city of the sacred well : Chichen-Itza in Yucatan," 8vo ; Halévy (E.), "Histoire du peuple anglais au 19e siècle, tome 1," 8vo ; Hill (C. E.), "The Danish Sound dues and the command of the Baltic," 8vo ; Crump (C. G.), and Jacob (E. F.), "The legacy of the middle ages," 8vo ; Cunnington (H. B.), "Some annals of the Borough of Devizes," vols. 2 and 3 ; Chancellor (E. B.), "Life in Regency and early Victorian times," 8vo ; Brunel (C.), "Les plus anciens chartes en langue provençale : recueil des pièces originales antérieures au 13e siècle," 8vo ; "Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Henri Pirenne par ses anciens élèves et ses amis à l'occasion de sa 40me année d'enseignement à Gand," 2 vols., 8vo ; "Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua : journal for East European and North Asiatic Archæology and Ethnography, 1-2," 8vo ; Massingham (H. J.), "Downland man," 8vo ; Turner (E. R.), "The Privy Council of England in the 17th and 18th centuries," vol. 1, 8vo.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE : Blake (Wm.), "The prophetic writings ; edited with general introduction, etc., by D. J. Gloss and J. P. R. Wallis," 2vols., 8vo ; Tatham (E. H. R.), "Francesca Petrarca, vol. 2 : secluded study and public fame," 8vo ; Gretton (M. S.), "The writings and life of George Meredith : a centenary study," 8vo ; Valli (L.), "La chiave della Divina Commedia : sintesi del simbolismo della Croce e dell'Aquila," 8vo ; Wessler (K.), "Jean Racine : Epochen der Französischen Literatur," 8vo ; Krause (W.), "Die Frau in der Sprache der altislaendischen Familien-

geschichten," 8vo ; Japikse (C. G. H.), "The dramas of Alfred, Lord Tennyson," 8vo ; Dekker (T.), "The plague pamphlets ; edited by F. P. Wilson," 8vo ; Krutch (J. W.), "Edgar Allen Poe : a study in genius," 8vo ; Spingarn (J. E.), "Creative criticism : essays on the unity of genius and taste," 8vo ; Brinton (C.), "The political ideas of the English romanticists," 8vo ; Milton (John), "Poems in English, with illustrations by William Blake," 4to ; Johnson (Samuel), "The critical opinions : arranged and compiled with introd. by J. E. Brown," 8vo ; "Le Chansonnier d'Arras : reproduction en phototypie avec introd. par A. Jeanroy," 8vo ; Coster (C. de), "Légendes flamandes, précédées d'une préface par E. Deschanel," 8vo ; "Glossaria Latina jussu Academiae Britannicae edita," vols. 1 and 2, 8vo ; Halflants (P.), "La littérature française au 19 me siècle : Le romanticisme et romanciers, publicistes, orateurs poètes," 3 vols., 8vo ; Lamartine (M. L. . . . de), "J. J. Rousseau, son faux contrat social, avec préface d'H. Frichet," 8vo ; "Islamica : a journal devoted to the study of the languages, arts, and civilisations of the Islamic peoples," vols. 1 and 2, 1924-25, 2 vols., 8vo ; Liebrecht (H.) et Rency (G.), "Histoire illustrée de la littérature Belge de la langue française des origines à 1925," 8vo ; Cobden-Sanderson (T. J.), "Journals," 2 vols., 8vo ; Graves (A. P.) "Irish doric in song and story," 8vo ; Aurner (N. S.), "Caxton : mirrour of fifteenth century letters : a study of the literature of the first English press," 8vo ; Bezold (C.), "Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar," 8vo ; Stephens (James), "Collected poems," 8vo ; Burdett (O.), "William Blake (English Men of Letters)," 8vo ; Menendez Pidal (R.), "Origenes del Español : estado linguistico de la peninsula Iberica hasta el siglo xi," 8vo ; Graham (W.), "The beginnings of English literary periodicals : a study of periodical literature, 1665-1715," 8vo ; Chelli (M.), "Etude sur la collaboration de Massinger avec Fletcher et son groupe," 8vo ; Ray (S. H.), "A comparative study of the Melanesian Island languages," 8vo ; Kelly (J. F.), "A history of Spanish literature," 8vo ; Triebel (L. A.), "The comedy of the crocodile as preserved in various manuscripts," 8vo ; Blanchard (F. T.), "Fielding the novelist," 8vo ; Blake (Wm.), "Songs of Innocence, reproduced in colours from the original," 8vo ; Raleigh (Sir W.), "On writing and writers," 8vo ; "The minor poems of Dante translated into English verse by Lorna

de Lucchi," 8vo; Fitzgerald (E.), "Letters to Bernard Quaritch; edited by C. Q. Wentmore," 8vo; Maugain (G.), "Ronsard en Italie," 8vo; Reed (A. W.), "Early Tudor drama," 8vo; Mackenzie (A. M.), "The women of Shakespeare's plays," 8vo; Raffin (L.), "Saint Julien de Balleure historien Bourguignon 1519?-1593," 8vo; Sjoestedt (M. L.), "L'aspect verbal et les formations à affixe nasal en celtique," 8vo; Reynaud (L.), "Le romanticisme, ses origines anglo-germaniques: influences étrangères et traditions nationales," 8vo.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION: Crooke (W.), "Religion and folk-lore of Northern India," 8vo; Burney (C. F.), "The poetry of our Lord: an examination of the formal element of Hebrew poetry in the discourses of Jesus Christ," 8vo; Loisy (A.), "Religion et humanité," 8vo; Gouhier (H.), "La philosophie de Malbranche et son expérience religieuse," 8vo; Welch (A. C.), "The psalter in life, worship, and history," 8vo; Leitzmann (H.), "Messe und Herrenmahl: eine Studie zur Geschichte der Liturgie," 8vo; Geden (A. S.), "The evangel of the Hebrew prophets," 8vo; Preisendanz (K.), "Akephalos der kopflose Gott," 8vo; McDougall (W.), "An outline of abnormal psychology," 8vo; "The psalmists' essays on their religious experience and teaching . . . edited by D. C. Simpson," 8vo; Smith (C. Ryder), "The Christian experience: a study in the theology of fellowship," 8vo; Hoensbroech (Graf P. von), "Der Jesuitenorden: eine Enzyklopaedie aus den Quellen, Band 1," 8vo; Riley (W.) and others, "The faith, the falsity, and the failure of Christian Science," 8vo; Bandas (R.), "The master idea of St. Paul's Epistles on the Redemption: a study of Biblical theology," 8vo; Pederson (J.), "Israel: its life, and culture," 8vo; Thureau-Dangin (P.), "Saint Bernardin de Sienne (1380-1444): un prédicateur populaire dans l'Italie de la Renaissance," 8vo; Fredericq (P.), "Codex documentorum sacratissimarum indulgentiarum Neederlandicarum (1300-1600)," 8vo; Morgan (C.), "An investigation of the Trinity of Plato and of Philo Judaeus," 8vo; Kraft (V.), "Die Grundformen der wissenschaftlichen Methoden," 8vo; Quell (G.), "Das kultische Problem der Psalmen," 8vo; Gore (Bp. C.), "Can we then believe," 8vo; Milne (C. H.), "A reconstruction of the Old Latin text of the Gospels used by Saint Augustin, with a study of their characters," 8vo; Butler (Alban),

"The lives of the saints: new edition revised and supplemented by H. Thurston," vol. 1, 8vo; Smuts (General J. C.), "Holism and evolution," 8vo; Hutton (E.), "The Franciscans in England," 8vo; Plater (W. E.) and White (H. J.), "A grammar of the Vulgate," 8vo; "Analecta Praemonstratensia," vols. 1 and 2, 4to; Eckhof (A.), "Jonas Michaëlins: founder of the church in New Netherlands," 8vo; Mandié (D.), "De legislatione antiqua Ordinis Fratrum Minorum," vol. 1, 8vo; "La vie de Saint Benoist par S. Gregoire le grand," 1737, 4to; Plotinus, "The divine mind translated by E. Mackenna," 8vo; The Expositor's Year Book: a survey of Biblical and theological literature of 1925; edited by J. Moffatt; 8vo; Murry (J. M.), "The life of Jesus," 8vo; Powicke (F. J.), "The Cambridge Platonists: a study," 8vo; Huegel (F. von), "Essays and addresses on the philosophy of religion, second series," 8vo; Brewster (E. H.), "The life of Gotama the Buddha," 8vo; Owst (G. R.), "Preaching in mediæval England," 8vo; Saltet (L.), "Les réordinations: étude sur le sacrement de l'ordre," 8vo; "Das Neue Testament nach dem Stuttgarter griechischen Text übersetzt und erklart von Oskar Holtzmann," 2 vols., 8vo; Baird (A. C.), "Christian fundamentals: a modern apology for the Apostles' Creed," 8vo; Waite (A. E.), "The secret tradition of alchemy," 8vo; Streeter (B. H.), "Reality," 8vo; Braham (E. G.), "Personality and immortality," 8vo; Hurst (G. L.), "An outline of the history of Christian literature," 8vo; Patterson (L.), "Theodore of Mopsuestia and modern thought," 8vo; Mozley (J. K.), "The impassibility of God," 8vo; Bertholet (A.), "A history of Hebrew civilization," 8vo; Workman (H. B.), "John Wiclif: a study of the English medieval church"; 2 vols., 8vo; Pallis (A.), "Notes on St. John and the Apocalypse," 8vo; Grant (F. C.), "The economic background of the Gospels," 8vo; Ogden (R. M.), "Psychology and education," 8vo; Harrison (A. W.), "The beginnings of Arminianism," 8vo; Easton (B. S.), "The Gospel according to St. Luke," 8vo; Plato, "Crito: a Socratic dialogue; translated by Henry Cary," 8vo; Hecler (F.), "The spirit of worship," 8vo; Baudissin, "Kyrios als Gottesname im Judentum," 8vo; Bauer (Th.), "Die Ostkanaanaer," 8vo; Duhm (H.), "Der Verkehr Gottes mit den Menschen im Alten Testament," 8vo; Rawlinson (A. E. J.), "The New Testament

doctrine of the Christ: Bampton Lectures, 1926," 8vo; Dimond (S. G.), "The psychology of the Methodist Revival: an empirical and descriptive study," 8vo; Younghusband (Sir F.), "The gleam," 8vo; Bachofen (J. J.), "Der Mythus von Orient und Occident: eine Metaphysik der alten Welt," 8vo.

SOCIOLOGY AND EDUCATION: Angell (J.), "The Theory of international prices," 8vo; Ward (J.), "Psychology applied to education," 8vo; Cole (G. D. H.), "A short history of the British working class movement," vol. 2, 1848-1900, 8vo; Grotius (H.), "The jurisprudence of Holland . . . translated with notes and commentary by R. W. Lee," 2 vols., 8vo; Bready (J. W.), "Lord Shaftesbury and social industrial progress," 8vo; Manacorda (G.), "Storia della scuola in Italia, vol. 1: Il medio evo," 8vo; Campagnac (E. T.), "Education in its relation to the common purposes of life," 8vo; Carver (T. N.), "The present economic revolution in the United States," 8vo; Hobson (J. A.), "Free-thought in the social sciences," 8vo.

GIFTS TO THE LIBRARY.

The list of donors to the Library during the year 1926 includes the names of 122 individuals and institutions, whose appreciation of the institution and its work has found expression in numerous gifts whereby the Library has been greatly enriched. The gifts number 400 volumes, amongst which are many works it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to obtain through the ordinary channels of supply.

BEQUEST OF ELIZABETHAN LITERATURE.

A very welcome bequest reaches us as we go to press. It is a small collection of Elizabethan literature bequeathed to the Library by the late Mr. Stanley Cooper, whose death occurred at his residence in London, on the 21st December.

Mr. Cooper had helped in many ways to perpetuate the memory of both Marlowe and Shakespeare. His interest in the Elizabethan poets began at Oxford. In 1886 he gave a memorial window to St. James's Church in Shoreditch, the church nearest to the site of the old "Curtain" theatre. He also gave a brass tablet to commemorate the name of Christopher Marlowe, which was placed in the church of St. Nicholas, Deptford, where the dramatist's burial was registered

after his tragic end in 1593; and in other ways he marked his appreciation of, and interest in, the literature surrounding our great national poet.

The collection comprises the following very welcome additions to the shelves of the Library :—

Ascham (R.), The Schoolmaster . . . 1589. 4to.
Bacon (R.), The Essays . . . 1668. 12mo.
—— The history of the reigns of Henry VII., etc. . . . 1676. Fol.
Beaumont (F.) and Fletcher (J.), The Elder Brother. 1651. 4to.
—— —— The Knight of the Burning Pestle. 1635. 4to.
—— —— Philaster . . . 1652. 4to.
Fletcher (J.), The Faithful Shepherdesse . . . 1665. 4to.
Heywood (T.), The Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels. 1635. Fol.
Jonson (B.), Catiline . . . 1674. 4to.
Lee (N.), Mithridates . . . 1702. 4to.
Lyly (John), Euphues . . . 1636. 4to.
Marlowe (C.), Hero and Leander . . . 1637. 4to.
Massinger (P.), The Maid of Honour . . . 1632. 4to.
—— A New Way to Pay Old Debts . . . 1633. 4to.
—— and Decker (T.), The Virgin-Martyr. 1661. 4to.
Middleton (T.), A Mad World my Masters . . . 1640. 4to.
Plutarch, The Lives of the Most Noble Grecians and Romans. Translated by T. North. 1612. Fol.
Raleigh (*Sir* W.), The History of the World. 1614. Fol.
Sandys (G.), Anglorum Speculum . . . 1684. 8vo.
Seneca (L. A.), Troades . . . English'd by E. Sherburne . . . 1679. 8vo.
Shirley (J.), Wedding . . . 1660. 4to.
Sidney (*Sir* P.), The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia. 1627. Fol.
Stow (John). The Survey of London. 1618. 4to.
Taylor (John), *Water Poet*, Workes . . . 1630. Fol.
Webster (John), The Dutchess of Malfey . . . 1678. 4to.

The following is a list of donors to the Library during 1926, to each of whom we renew our thanks for their welcome gifts :— LIST OF DONORS.

Alderman T. C. Abbott, J.P.
H. W. Atkinson, Esq.
Mrs. Ball.
A. B. W. Barkworth, Esq.
Miss E. M. Barlow.
Miss H. C. Bartlett.
F. B. Bemis, Esq.
Professor E. F. Bruck.
F. Buckley, Esq.
D. Carnegie, Esq.
Miss Mary Cayley.
R. V. Clayton, Esq.
Dr. T. Clifford.
M. Cobe, Esq.
The Rev. E. Hampden-Cook.
F. H. Crossley, Esq.
R. A. Dallen, Esq.
Professor A. Deimel.
The Rev. A. Dixon.
Miss H. Farquhar.
Professor Dr. A. Fischer.
Sir H. G. Fordham.
T. W. Hall, Esq.
Dr. J. Rendel Harris.
Mrs. T. Harris.
R. Heape, Esq.
Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne.
Miss V. Hewit.
C. S. S. Higham, Esq.
Captain E. C. Hopkinson.
The Rev. H. A. Hudson.
J. F. Kenney, Esq.
Dr. Theo. W. Koch.
J. Lees, Esq.
The Rev. S. Levy.
J. Lewin, Esq.
The Librarian.
Sir C. W. Macara, Bart.
The Rev. Dr. R. Mackintosh.
Professor Dr. F. Hegi-Naef.
G. H. F. Nuttall, Esq.
E. Oberhummer, Esq.
E. Ogden, Esq.
The Rev. Dr. De Lacy O'Leary.
Professor F. F. O'Rahilly.
Miss A. Peckover.
Professor D. Plooij.
Professor J. P. Postgate.
Professor E. Prestage.
J. R. Ragdale, Esq.
Sir Alfred Read.
Sir W. Ridgeway.
Dr. J. E. Spingarn.
Miss M. B. Stillwell.
The Rev. Canon Stocks.
The Rev. A. Stones.
Sir A. J. Sykes.
Dr. S. A. Tannenbaum.
Frau Baronin von Uexküll.
Mrs. Nur Ahmad Vakil.
The Rev. Father L. Villécourt, O.S.B.
G. H. Viner, Esq.
Dr. W. T. Whitley.
Dr. G. C. F. Williams.
Dr. D. Wilson.
J. Windsor, Esq.
R. Wolcott, Esq.

Aberdeen University.
Aberystwyth : The National Library of Wales.
Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa.
Barcelona : Institut d'Estudis Catalans.
Baroda : The Central Library.
Basle University.
The British Academy.
The British Museum.
Canada : Department of Public Archives.
The Canadian Bank of Commerce.
The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust.
Chicago : John Crerar Library.
Chicago University.
Columbia University.
Copenhagen : The Royal Library.
Copenhagen University.
Cornell University.
Edinburgh : The Signet Library.
Edinburgh University.
"E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Fund.
Glasgow University.
The Gold Rose Printing Co.
Groningen University.
The High Commissioner for India.
The Lanston Monotype Corporation Ltd.
Latvia University.
Leiden University.
Liverpool : The State Assurance Co. Ltd.
London : The Guildhall Library.
London : The Jews' College.
London : The London School of Economics.
London : The Public Record Office.
London : The Victoria and Albert Museum.
Manchester : The Corporation.
Manchester : The Municipal School of Technology.
Manchester University.
Massachusetts Historical Society
Michigan University.
New York : The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

New York Public Library.
New York University.
The High Commissioner for New Zealand.
Ontario Library Association.
Oslo University.
Saint Andrews University.
Saint Louis Public Library.
Messrs. John Smith & Son.
Stockholm : The Royal Library.
Toronto University.
Utrecht University.
Vienna : National-Bibliothek.
The Wall-Paper Manufacturers, Ltd.
Washington : The Library of Congress.
Washington : The Smithsonian Institution.
Washington : The Surgeon-General's Office.

EXPORTATION AND DESTRUCTION OF HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.

Protests against the sale and exportation of historical documents continue to appear in the press. Such protests cannot be too frequently or too strongly emphasized if this disastrous exportation of important sources of our national history is to be prevented.

Italy, so often plundered of its best possessions, but still incalculably rich in artistic wealth, gave us an example we might well have followed when her government ordered all objects of first-rate importance to be scheduled, and provided that the state should have a right of pre-emption before any idea of exportation could be tolerated. Some of the treasures so scheduled were not under any circumstances to be exported. As Sir Charles Oman, Chichele Professor of Modern History at Oxford, has pointed out, the class of our national treasures which call for some such stringent action are manuscripts and papers which are obviously state property wrongly appropriated by long-dead delinquents. It seems to have been the practice throughout the 17th, 18th, and far into the 19th centuries for state officials to remove important state papers to their own homes, regarding them no doubt as the perquisites of their office, in utter disregard of the claims of their successors and subsequent administrators in office, to say nothing of the claims of the historian. Many of these state papers, mixed with genuine family papers, have been sold in quite recent years and exported to America.

During the present writer's recent tour of the United States it was very disquieting to find so many collections of manuscripts consisting of valuable sources of our national history which had been quite recently transported from this country. It may be that many of these papers cannot be regarded as state property, but they are of such national importance that under no circumstances should they have been allowed to leave these shores. It may be difficult to retrieve them, but might not some attempt be made to secure their return through the medium of exchange. There must be in this country quantities of papers relating to American affairs which would be of much greater interest and service to our kinsfolk overseas than to us, and which might very appropriately be offered in exchange for those to which reference has been made.

Mr. E. A. Barnard, President of the Worcesterhire Archæological Society has called attention in "The Times" of 4th January to another disquieting and deplorable traffic in old documents bought for no other purpose than that they should be cut up and used in the making of toy drums, tambourines, and covers for blotters. The firm making use of these documents disclaims any intention of vandalism. The old documents which come into their hands in large quantities are obviously of a common-place character, and we have the assurance of the firm that any documents which appear to be of special interest or importance are not destroyed. But is this a sufficient safeguard against the possible destruction of documents of great importance?

As we have pointed out, on a former occasion, in these pages there are in private hands large collections of old deeds, leases, settlements, letters, and other papers, accumulations perhaps of centuries, which may not have any great value from the point of view of national history, but which are of the utmost importance as local records. Such collections are frequently turned out by thoughtless executors of estates as worthless lumber.

The Historical Manuscripts Commission are mainly concerned with documents which are of national importance, and are willing to give advice to those who possess papers of this character, as to how to care for and preserve them. But for later deeds such as mortgages, leases, deeds of settlement, and so forth, copiously inscribed on large parchments with much repetition, which are much more numerous, there is at present no expert official advice available.

Owners of such collections should be required to take expert advice before they are turned out or destroyed, and in any event the deeds might be handed over to the local library, to the county depot, or, failing these, to the local archæological society as gifts, instead of being sold for the small sums they generally realize.

With the object of rendering what help we can, we venture to renew the offer which we have made already from time to time, of the hospitality of this Library for the housing of any such collections of documents which may relate to the North of England, more especially to the three counties of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire, and we undertake to be responsible for their safe custody.

A number of collections have already been entrusted to our care, including: the manuscripts of Sir Harry Mainwaring, Bart., late of Peover Hall, Cheshire, whose family had been seated at Peover since the Conquest; the manuscripts relating to the family of Colonel and Mrs. Ramsden-Jodrell of Taxal, who have been seated in Cheshire since 1351; the manuscripts relating to the Wythenshawe estates, which formerly belonged to the Tatton family; the large collection of deeds relating to the Longford Estate in Derbyshire, which until recently belonged to Lady Crutchley; and lastly a collection of deeds belonging to Lord Stanley of Alderley, relating to the Alderley Park Estate, Cheshire.

These documents form part of the essential source material for the history of the families and counties to which they relate, and are invaluable to the students of our local history and customs, as well as to the ever-increasing numbers of scholars engaged in this description of historical investigation.

Not only do we undertake to be responsible for the safe custody of such collections, but we also offer the services of the staff in caring for, arranging, and making them readily accessible for purposes of reference under the customary safeguards provided in the rules and regulations of the Library.

In a short Act of Parliament the Master of the Rolls has been empowered to direct that all court rolls, charters, and similar documents, at present scattered about the country, should be reported to him. He has also been empowered to establish depots in different parts of the country in which these documents should be deposited for safe custody, under certain conditions.

Under these powers the Master of the Rolls has appointed the John Rylands Library to be the depot for Lancashire. Hitherto very few rolls of the court have been deposited with us.

A NEW SERIES OF SYRIAC WRITERS.

In the present issue we publish the first of a series of facsimile reproductions of Christian documents in Syriac and Garshúni, with translations and apparatus criticus by Dr. A. Mingana, preceded by introductions by Dr. Rendel Harris.

The series is to be known as the "Woodbrooke Studies," and will consist of texts, of which in many cases the only known manuscripts are those collected by Dr. Mingana and preserved at Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, in the care of the Rendel Harris Library.

The present instalment includes a treatise by Dionysius Bar Ṣalibi, the twelfth century West Syrian or Jacobite writer, which throws a good deal of light upon the relations of the Greek and Eastern churches in the writer's own day. The work is so rare that no manuscript was known to be extant until the copy, from which the present facsimile has been made, was discovered by Dr. Mingana during his recent visit to the East.

Bar Ṣalibi's treatise is followed by some stray documents, which profess to be related in some way to the person of Ignatius, the martyr bishop of Antioch, and may be regarded as Ignatian Apocrypha.

Students of church history will welcome these studies as throwing new light upon such questions as the Sign of the Cross, the Trisagion, as well as upon many problems which hitherto have remained somewhat obscure; and also as furnishing many important historical references unknown elsewhere.

The publication of these documents has been made possible by the encouragement of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Cadbury, who are greatly interested in any movement which has for its object the assistance of scholars whose lives are devoted to the unflinching search for truth.

The succeeding issue, which will make its appearance in July, will contain matter of even greater interest than the present, and will consist of unedited Christian Apocrypha. These will include a new Jeremiah, a life of John the Baptist, and some uncanonical psalms.

These studies will be re-issued in separate form with possible expansions after they have passed through the BULLETIN, under the title "The Woodbrooke Studies."

THE APOSTLE THOMAS IN SOUTH INDIA.[1]

BY J. N. FARQUHAR, D.LITT. (OXON.), D.D. (ABERDEEN).

PROFESSOR OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION, MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY.

IN an earlier article[2] I have tried to show that there is some reason to believe that the Apostle Thomas sailed from Alexandria with Ḥabbān, *the Merchant* of king Gūdnaphar, to the Indus and reached the king's Indian capital, Taxila, probably about 48 or 49 A.D. In this paper we ask the question, Is there any evidence to show that the Apostle left the Punjaub and went to South India?

I. *The Acts of Judas Thomas* definitely says that he left Gūdnaphar's kingdom, and went to another, which was also in India, that he preached and won converts there, but finally was put to death by order of the king. The writer does not tell us the name of this kingdom, nor does he indicate in what part of India it was situated. This is probably merely another instance of his carelessness as to matters of geography, a characteristic already noted in our former article:[3] it is likely that he could have learnt the name of Thomas's

[1] The following abbreviations are used in the notes in this paper:—
Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, from the Syriac: W.
James, *The Apocryphal N.T.*, from the Greek: J.
Bibliotheca Orientalis by Assemani: B.O.
Charlesworth, *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire:* TR.
Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World:* IWW.
Cambridge History of India: CHI.
Cambridge Ancient History: CAH.
Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics: ERE.
Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas:* MEDLY.
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society: JRAS.

[2] *The Apostle Thomas in North India*, in the JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY BULLETIN, January, 1926.

[3] *Ibid.*

second field of labour, had he cared to make enquiry in Edessa.[1] Of one thing, however, we may be absolutely certain, that in stating that Thomas met his death in an Indian kingdom other than Gūdnaphar's, he gives us one of the fixed points of the Edessene tradition. In a matter of such crucial importance, he would not depart from the settled belief of the Church. This we shall then hold as certain, that the leaders of the Edessene Church believed that Thomas had preached in two distinct sections of India and that he lost his life in the second of the two.

But there is another point of which we may be absolutely certain : *the reason given in the Acts for his abandonment of the Punjaub is quite unhistorical.* After serious deliberation he had decided to leave Egypt, in order that he might evangelize the people of Gūdnaphar's Indian kingdom. He arrived in Taxila with the king's merchant, was received by the king and had every opportunity to do the work of an Apostle in a great province containing millions of people of varied race and religion. Yet, if we are to believe *The Acts*, he abandoned the splendid project, because he had been invited to go to another kingdom to heal two sick women ![2]

But if *The Acts* offers us only a silly story, history is able to tell us the real reason for his departure. At some date round about 50 A.D., the Kushāns (a people who had come westwards from China to the Oxus, and had then settled and prospered in Bactria) broke over the Hindu Kush, conquered the Cabul valley and the whole province as far east as the Indus ; and then, marching south, seized the provinces of Arachosia and Gedrosia, thus stripping the Scytho-Parthian empire of the Western half of its territory.[3] Thereafter, rallying their forces, they crossed the Indus and seized the Punjaub with its capital and the whole valley of the great river.[4] The Scytho-Parthian Empire was thus completely destroyed.

The precise dates of these happenings are not known as yet. One inscription proves that Gūdnaphar was still reigning in 45 A.D.; while another, which is dated 64 A.D., proves that the Kushān king was then supreme. Scholars are inclined to think that the great attack was made at some date near 50 A.D. The finding of a fresh inscription or a fresh coin may any day supply more precise information.[5]

[1] Cf. pp. 27, 31 below. [2] *W.*, 200 ff.; *J.*, 393 ff.
[3] *CHI.*, I., 580-3. [4] *Ibid.*, 584. [5] *Ibid.*, 584-5.

As soon as the danger to the eastern half of the empire became serious, the population of Taxila and of the whole western section of the Panjaub must have begun to break up. Preaching and teaching must have become altogether impossible. Ḥabbān, who was responsible for having brought the Apostle to India, would be most anxious to send him away to a place of safety, and would urge him to leave. Thomas would be eager to continue his work even under the direst difficulties, and would be quite ready to die for Christ, if necessary; but his Master's words, "When they persecute you in one city, flee ye to another,"[1] had taught him that it was better to escape and preach elsewhere than to stay where preaching was impossible and perish. He would therefore agree to leave, if he could find his way to another part of India which would provide him with a hopeful field of work.

Ḥabbān points out that no part of the Scytho-Parthian empire is possible: the enemy holds already almost half of it; and the whole of the rest of the territory is in commotion, all able-bodied men being used for the army or other government necessities, most women and children being sent into safety. "Unless the enemy can be defeated, he will overwhelm the whole of the Punjaub and will seize the Indus valley." Thomas must therefore leave at once and sail down the river, before the Kushāns seize Pattala. Thus the Kushān war was the reason why Thomas abandoned his chosen field of work. Every one will recognize in that great upheaval sufficient reason for the change.

II. We had better at this point introduce the tradition, preserved in the Syrian Church of Travancore, about the Apostle's arrival in South India and his work there, as it throws light on the question with which we have been dealing and will be wanted in the sequel at many points. It runs as follows:—

In the year 52 A.D., the Apostle Thomas arrived in Muziris by sea, from the island of Socotra. He preached to the people; made many converts; organised seven churches; and ordained two presbyters. He next went to the east coast and preached there with success, the king as well as considerable numbers of the people accepting baptism. Thereafter he paid a visit to China, and won many for Christ. But when he returned to the east coast of India, he had so much success in his work that the Brāhmans of the district

[1] Matt. x. 23.

were filled with envy and anger; and, in a sudden riot, one of them pierced him with a lance, and he won a martyr's crown. The date of his death is given as 72 A.D.

Such is the Travancore tradition. But there are two points on which there is no unanimity. Instead of 52 A.D., 50 or 51 is occasionally given as the date of his arrival; and in some versions the island of Socotra is not mentioned.[1]

III. It will be at once apparent how well the tradition agrees with our suggestion that it was the Kushān war that drove the Apostle out of the Panjaub: the date fits perfectly.—But why should Thomas go from the extreme north to the extreme south of India? Was there no promising field within narrower range?

There need be no doubt that the new field was selected for Thomas by Ḥabbān. He, naturally, knew India better than most men, certainly far better than Thomas. Now Alexandria, where, as it seems, Thomas had laboured, was the greatest port of the ancient world; and he had probably found a more fruitful seed-plot for the Gospel in the international commercial community than in any other in that city. Certainly, Ḥabbān and his companions belonged to trade. Thomas, like Paul, was thus at home among business and sea-faring men, and knew how to deal with them.

Now Ḥabbān was Gūdnaphar's "royal merchant." We may therefore be fairly well assured that he did not neglect the great trade which went on continuously between North India and the chief harbours of the South.[2] Three kingdoms in the first century divided the far south between them. The peak of the pear was called the Pāndya realm and contained one of the greatest ports, *Nelcynda*;[3] while the territory immediately to the north was bisected, the western half, called Kerala, containing a famous port called *Muziris*,[4] the eastern half, called the Chola kingdom, having three notable ports, *Kāviripaṭṭanam*, *Poduca*, *Supaṭṭanam*.[5] Our ancient authorities tell us of the great

[1] For these and other particulars connected with the tradition and the Syrian Church, I am indebted to my friend, Mr. T. K. Joseph, B.A., L.T., Trivandrum, Travancore.

[2] *CHI.*, I., 212 f., 595-8.

[3] *Periplus*, 56; Pliny, *N.H.*, VI., 26; *IWW.*, 108, 111, 120, 121, 130.

[4] *Periplus*, 54; Pliny, *NH.*, VI., 26; *TR.*, 68; *IWW.*, 108, 111, 120, 121; *CHI.*, I., 595.

[5] *Periplus*, 60; *TR.*, 71; *IWW.*, 122; *CHI.*, I., 212, 595, 598.

wealth which the sea traffic brought the three kingdoms. Many hoards of Roman coins have come to light in India ; but all the biggest have been found in these southern territories. Here the trade with Arabia, Egypt, and the Mediterranean was at its greatest ;[1] and a large commerce was also carried on between these ports and North India,[2] on the one hand, and the Persian Gulf,[3] on the other.

What advice then did Ḥabbān give the Apostle ? He probably expressed the opinion that the best thing he could do was *to regard the extreme south of India as his field, to begin his work from Muziris, Nelcynda, and the other ports on the west coast*, and, at a later date, *to make a similar beginning from the three ports of the Chola coast*, in each case *extending teaching and organization towards the centre as soon as the growth of the Church rendered extension possible.* One language, Ancient Tamil, was spoken throughout that section of India ; and its compactness made it more manageable than any of the great provinces of the north. In Muziris on the west there was a very large foreign community, Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, Arabs, Jews, and men from the Persian Gulf and North India, all educated in some degree and open to fresh religious influence. The mass of the people from the Roman Empire was so great that there was a temple to the Emperor in the city. Nelcynda probably did not fall far behind Muziris. In Kāviripaṭṭanam also, on the east coast, the foreign community was very large and attractive ;[4] and the same type of men were to be found in all the other ports. Most of these men spoke Greek ; while the remainder—people from Babylonia, the Gulf, and North India—all used Aramaic, the language of commerce and education in Mesopotamia.[5] The letters he could give him would introduce him in the happiest way possible to the commercial community in each city. He would probably be able to win a rich harvest for Christ among these modern men in Muziris, while he was acquiring a working knowledge of the Tamil tongue ;[6] and he would find the

[1] *IWW.*, 120 ; *TR.*, 68-71. [2] *CHI.*, I., 213.
[3] *Ibid.*, 62, 329, 516-7.
[4] *Ibid.*, 212 ; Iyengar, *Dravidian India*, 196.
[5] *ERE.*, XII., 168 ; *CHI.*, I., 62, 657 ; *CAH.*, III., 78, 95, 423.
[6] To-day two languages are spoken in South India, Tamil in the greater part of the country, Malayalam in Travancore. In the first century, on the other hand, Ancient Tamil was spoken from west to east ; and only in later centuries, through progressive differentiation of dialects, did the speech of the west become a distinct language, *CHI.*, I., 595.

other ports quite as valuable as bases at later dates. To those business men who accepted Christ he could look for financial help when he needed it; and to them he could turn when he required a short period of rest, when he wished to send letters to friends by sea, and when he wanted a passage to some other port.

Every one who has worked for the Kingdom in or near one of the great ports of the modern East will agree as to the value of such a base of sympathy and help.

Thomas agrees that the proposal is all he could wish for, and decides to sail for Muziris, pleased to think that, in his new field, he would still be in India and would still be dealing with Hindus. It is just possible also that, among the many students drawn from all parts of India by the fame of the University of Taxila,[1] Thomas may have met two or three of the famous Nambūtiri Brāhmans[2] of the Kerala land. If so, he already knew something about the country and its people.

Ḥabbān therefore writes a letter to the Port Superintendent (paṭṭanādhyaksha)[3] in Pattala, asking him to arrange a passage for Thomas to Muziris. He also prepares letters of introduction to be handed to the king's Trade Superintendents (*paṇyādhyaksha*)[3] in Muziris, Nelcynda, and the Chola ports.

Thomas would then say farewell to Ḥabbān and the little circle of Christians in the city, greatly grieved to have to leave them. It is at this point that *The Acts* states that the Apostle committed the care of the Church to Xanthippus, who may, possibly, be an authentic person.[4]

IV. He sails rapidly down the Indus and arrives in Pattala towards the end of December, calls at once on the Port Superintendent and presents his official letter. He is told that there is no ship sailing direct for Muziris, and that, on account of the war, it is impossible to say when there will be a vessel available; but an Alexandrian ship, which is almost ready to sail for Egypt, has to call at Socotra for cargo; and in it a passage can be readily secured. He may have to wait two or

[1] *CHI.*, I., 214, 345; *Arch. Survey of India Reports*, II., 1914-15, 36 ff.

[2] There *were* Brāhmans in the far south in the first century A.D.; *CHI.*, I., 596. For a modern description of the Nambūtiris, see *JRAS.*, 1910, 625.

[3] These technical terms are from the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya; see Monahan, *Early History of Bengal*, pp. 57, 72.

[4] P. 25 of my first paper.

three months in the island ; but early in June Alexandrian ships, using the S.W. Monsoon to reach Muziris, will begin to pass the island and some of them will be certain to call. In this way alone was it possible at that time to get a passage to Muziris. Thomas consents to the arrangement and sails, late in December, 51 A.D.

The voyage from Pattala to Socotra would take quite two months and probably longer ; for the N.E. Monsoon, on which ships sailing to the S.W. from the Indus depended, is a light and inconstant breeze ; so that the average speed of sailing was much less than on the voyages from the Gulf of Aden to the Indus, when ships were swept forward at a great pace by the violence of the S.W. Monsoon.

Socotra[1] lies off the African coast, opposite Cape Gardafui, just outside the Gulf of Aden. The island, in the first century, had a considerable population, Greek, Arab, Syrian, and Indian, and was of some importance as a port of call.

Thomas would have to pass almost three months on the island ; for he would arrive in March, and the Monsoon would not bring the Alexandrian ships before the early days of June. We may be sure he would not be idle. Many others besides the Greeks of the island would be able to understand his Greek addresses ; and it would be strange if he did not win some for Christ.

There is clear evidence from 423 A.D.[2] onwards that many of the inhabitants of the island were then Christians ; and at a much later date, there is evidence[3] that they said their fathers had been evangelized by Thomas.

Thus the statement in the Travancore tradition, that Thomas came to Muziris from Socotra, fits perfectly into our theory that he had come from the Indus, and is also in full agreement with later facts. The omission of Socotra in some versions of the tradition is easily comprehensible.

We must think of Thomas as carrying on evangelistic work in the island for some three months. Then, finally, the month of June arrived, and soon the S.W. Monsoon was blowing hard against the island, and people began to watch for the big vessels from Egypt

[1] See Smith, *Dictionary of Ancient Geography*, *s.v.*

[2] In the history of Philostorgius, an outline of which has come down to us in Photius. See Migne, *P.G.-L.* vol. LXV.

[3] Francis Xavier is the witness.

bound for S. India. Two or three ships under full sail, driven hard by the Monsoon, sailed past, but the next turned towards the island and entered the harbour.

Thomas said good-bye to his Socotra friends and went aboard. In some five or six weeks the coast of Kerala, green with glorious forests, appears ahead, and within a few hours the ship is in the great harbour.

V. In Muziris he is at home at once; for it is a smaller Alexandria. Besides a thronging Tamil population, there is in the port a large foreign community absorbed in trade and shipping.

Ḥabbān's introductions secure him all the help and advice he needs at first. In a few days he is preaching in Greek, telling the story of the love of God in the crucified Jesus, throwing all his energies into a great effort to win those vigorous, intelligent men for Christ. There would probably be plenty of opposition, especially from the leading Jews. Yet people could not but listen: men of his type had never been seen in the world before!—Was he not one of that small group who had spent three years in closest companionship with Jesus?

If within the first few months he won a group of this class of men and formed them into a small church, they would not only prove life-long friends to the Apostle but would be a source of great strength and comfort to him in his main task, the building up of the Indian Church.

VI. But, as soon as he was settled in Muziris, he would wish to communicate, if possible, with Ḥabbān. If Gūdnaphar had a Trade Agent (*paṇyādhyaksha*) in the port, as seems probable, he would arrange to forward Thomas's letter at the first opportunity. Otherwise, Thomas would get one of his commercial friends to send the letter by the first ship sailing to the Indus.

Further, if we are right in our conjecture, that he had sent a letter from Taxila to Edessa with the news of his arrival in Gūdnaphar's capital, he would be most eager to write again to the Church, to tell them about his new field and the reason for the change.

Trade between the Persian Gulf and India began at very early dates,[1] and plays a large part in Indian commerce to-day. In the first century, we hear of ships sailing from Charax Spasini, Apologus, and

[1] *C.H.I.*, I., 329.

the other ports of the Gulf to Barygaza and other Indian marts.[1] Thus, when a ship arrived in Muziris from Charax, it would be possible, on its return voyage, to send by it a letter, which, delivered to an agent in Charax, would be sent by road to Edessa. This would be the second of his letters sent from India to the Church of Edessa, according to the statement of the Syriac *Didascalia*.[2]

VII. He would readily find in Muziris an intelligent son of Kerala who could speak Greek and would thus be able to teach him ancient Tamil. To become a master of that language would cost some considerable time; but it would not take Thomas the Jew very long to acquire enough of the colloquial to enable him to wander about among the people and talk with them. Then, it is probable that he had had the inestimable privilege of mingling freely with the teachers of the university of Taxila. From them he would learn the leading ideas and practices of Hinduism, and would pick up many of those short pithy Sanskrit phrases in which the most important conceptions of Hindu philosophy, religion, and life are expressed. So he would be received by Nambūtiri Brāhmans[3] as an extraordinary foreigner who was already something of a paṇḍit. He was thus already partially prepared for the task on which his heart was set, the leading of Tamil Hindus to the feet of Christ. Day by day he would preach in the open spaces of Muziris and in the villages of the countryside; and would spend hours in conversation and prayer with interested individuals.

As soon as a number of individuals had been won and a small church of faithful men had been organized and well established, he would pass on to a new district in order to seek other souls for his Master Jesus, but would frequently return to visit his earlier converts, conscious how much care and love and wisdom are needed to train young Christians so that they may become ripe, fruitful Christian men.

No detailed account of his work has come down to us. All the information we have is the Travancore tradition which gives us the names of the seven churches which he planted. These, enumerated

[1] *TR.*, 102, *IWW.*, 113.

[2] See my former paper, p. 27. Nau, *La Didascalie des Douze Apôtres*, Paris, 1912, p. 230.

[3] The writer, from personal experience, can vouch for the extreme friendliness of Hindu scholars, Nambūtiris as well as others, to Europeans who show a living interest in Hindu teaching and practice.

from north to south in order, are: 1. *Pālūr*, 2. *Cranganore* (i.e. Muziris), 3. *Parūr*, 4. *Gokkamaṅgalam*, 5. *Chāyal*, 6. *Niraṇam*, 7. *Quilon*. From Pālūr in the north to Quilon in the south the distance is about 130 miles. All these places, with the exception of number 5, *Chāyal*, are on the coast or within a very short distance of it. Cranganore (Muziris) was the chief port of Kerala then; *Niraṇam* probably represents Nelcynda,[1] which was the chief port of the Pāndya kingdom; and *Quilon* is a harbour to this day. We may regard *Chāyal* as his first station planted at a distance from the sea. It is thus perfectly clear that his work was closely related to the sea trade, and above all to Muziris and Nelcynda.

It is very noteworthy that he was not restricted to the kingdom of Kerala. Where the frontier between Kerala and the Pāndya realm lay in those days, we do not know precisely; but we are told by the *Periplus*,[2] and also by Pliny,[3] that Nelcynda belonged to the Pāndya kingdom. Thus both *Niraṇam* and *Quilon* were in the Pāndya land. That he was able to evangelize in both kingdoms is a fact of much significance.[4]

VIII. We have no history, even in outline, of the Apostle's work in South India: all we have is the knowledge that his activity on the west coast preceded his work on the east, and that his voyage to the Far East took place shortly before his death.

Nor have we any tradition as to the extent of territory covered by his work on the east or the number of churches which he planted. The Christian community of the east died out during the fifteenth century: if its tradition had survived, it would doubtless have been illuminating. No details have come down to us, except the brief narrative of his death.

It is therefore all the more noticeable that his martyrdom is said to have happened at a point in the vicinity of the most northern of the three ports of the Chola coast. These, beginning from the south, were *Kāviripaṭṭanam*[5] (Kāviriport), at the mouth of the northernmost

[1] What the exact position of Nelcynda was is not known. It stood some fourteen miles from the sea, and seemingly on the same backwater as that on which Kottayam now rests. A subordinate port named Bakare stood on the sea front, probably not far from where Alleppey is to-day. Thus Niraṇam is within a short distance of the ancient Nelcynda, if it is not on the very site.

[2] Section 44. [3] *NH.*, VI., 26. [4] See below, p. 31.

[5] Called *Khāberis* and *Cāmara* in classical writers

branch of the Kāviri delta, *Poduca* (Newhaven), probably identical with Pondicherry and *Supaṭṭanam*[1] (Fairport), close by what is now Madras. At Mylapore on the south side of Madras, stands a Roman Catholic Cathedral covering the place where, according to the tradition of South India and also of Edessa, his body was laid; and to the S.W. two low hills,[2] respectively two and four miles distant, are associated in the tradition with his life and his death. Thus, according to the tradition of both Edessa and S. India, one of the centres of the Apostle's activity on the east coast was quite near Supaṭṭanam.

This is so like his work in the West that one wonders whether, on the east coast, during the early centuries, there was not a line of churches stretching from Kāviripaṭṭanam[3] to Supaṭṭanam. In any case, if the Apostle actually laboured there, he must have won large numbers of people; for the Christian community which he is said to have founded lasted down to the fifteenth century.

Here then, as well as on the west, his work rested on the ports; and, in all probability, he had won for Christ many from the foreign communities in those busy towns, in addition to all his Indian converts.

One further remark may be made. If there was a line of Churches connected with the three Chola ports, then his work on the east reflected the same methods as his work on the west; yet the two fields were not opposite each other: the churches of the east were a good deal farther north than the churches of the west. Mylapore is about 175 miles farther north than Palur, the most northerly of the seven churches. Yet, if we have conceived his work as it really was, he had played the wise master-builder. He had occupied the most strategic positions in the whole southern territory. If, when he was finally offered up as an offering and a sacrifice on behalf of the Church of God in India, another man of like devotion, spiritual energy, and

[1] *IWW.*, 122; *T.R.*, 71.

[2] Cf. *The Acts* (W., 294; J., 436) where the king says to the soldiers, "Go up on this mountain and stab him."

[3] From Mr. T. K. Joseph of Trivandrum I have heard of an interesting fragment of ancient Travancore tradition reduced to writing about 1800 A.D., according to which Vellāla Christians, resident in Kāviripaṭṭanam, were so seriously persecuted for their faith that groups of them migrated to Quilon in Travancore. The dates given are round about 300 A.D. The Vellālas were one of the chief groups in the population of Tamil India in the early centuries (*C.H.I.*, I., 596), as they are to-day.

strategy could have stepped into his place, what might he not have done for Christ in South India!

When his work in the east had begun to take root and grow, Thomas would wish to write a letter to Edessa, to tell the Church which had thought of him and prayed for him about his new venture; and some commercial friend in one of the ports would readily take charge of it and would send it by the first ship sailing to Charax Spasini, whence it would be carried by road to Edessa. This would then be the third of those letters of his which are mentioned in early Edessene literature.[1]

These Apostolic letters would be frequently referred to in the Church services, and would now and then be read; so that every Edessene Christian would know about Thomas.

We have already noticed that no history of the Apostle's operations in South India has come down to us. The work on the west coast was well begun before the work on the east was started at all; but no more than that is told us. Yet we can scarcely be wrong in believing that Thomas must have gone from west to east and from east to west several times. Paul found it expedient to revisit his Churches; and modern missionary experience confirms the need with weighty insistence. Thomas would wish to visit the fields in turn, in order to encourage and strengthen the Churches and to help to carry the work of evangelization forward. We can thus see how the two fields might be supervised and strengthened by one devoted man. Those visits would most naturally be made by sea.

We realized above[2] that, on the west coast, Thomas worked in two distinct kingdoms, the *Kerala* and the *Pāndya*. In his work on the east coast, he was under the *Chola* king. Thus, if the story of his life in S. India is historical, he succeeded in doing a large piece of Christian work in each of the three kingdoms of Tamil land. That he was allowed to continue his work in peace—that he was able to carry on successful Christian propaganda, in three Hindu states, for twenty years, in the latter half of the first century A.D.—these are surely facts of much significance. It is probable that Ḥabbān's introductions and also his well-informed advice and instructions to Thomas had done a great deal to secure this success; but even these precious

[1] See above, p. 28. [2] P. 29.

helps would not have sufficed, had they not been seconded, on the Apostle's part, by a most modest demeanour, extreme friendliness in dealing with all classes, and very great prudence in teaching.[1]

IX. In the Travancore tradition there is one, and only one, element which is demonstrably unhistorical, viz. the statement that Thomas went to China. The sea-route to China was not discovered until about 160 A.D.;[2] hence Thomas cannot have paid the visit described in the tradition. Yet, though the report as it stands is unhistorical, it is quite possible that a historical fact lies behind it. The possibility of sailing to the coast of China was not realized in the first century; yet a great trade was carried on between the ports of the east coast of India, on the one hand, and the harbours of the Irrawaddy and of the Malay Peninsula, on the other.[3] Hence, if Thomas preached Christ to the merchants of the great ports of South India both east and west, it is quite possible that his friends in Kāviripaṭṭanam or Supaṭṭanam may have begged him to sail across to Temala (the port corresponding to the modern Bassein) near the mouth of the westernmost branch of the delta of the Irrawaddy, or to some port farther south, to evangelize the foreign community there. We cannot be certain that this actually happened; but it is quite possible that Thomas took this voyage and returned to the Madras coast. Those who realize how loosely foreign geographical terms are used in India to this day will not be astonished to find China used to include Burma and the Malay peninsula.

X. The tradition then runs that the Apostle's further work in the Chola kingdom was so successful that the Brāhmans became filled with jealousy; a riot arose; and one of them pierced him with a lance and he died. This is said to have happened in 72 A.D.; and the Churches of Europe regard the 21st of December as the day of his death, and celebrate his martyrdom on that day. All the Churches of the East were accustomed to commemorate the martyrdom on the 3rd of July, but that is the day of the arrival of the relics in Edessa.[4]

XI. If now we compare the South Indian tradition with the ac-

[1] Cf. Matt., x. 16; 2. Cor. x. 1; Eph. v. 15-16; Titus iii. 1-2; 1 Peter ii. 13-17.

[2] *TR.*, 72.

[3] *Periplus*, 46, 47; *TR.*, 71. Ships actually sailed to Burma from Broach on the west coast of India: *CHI.*, I., 213.

[4] See below, p. 39.

count of the Apostle's work and death in Mazdai's kingdom as given in *The Acts*, the following points stand out clear :—

(*a*) The tale in *The Acts* is another version of the same series of events which is contained in the South Indian tradition : the new section of India, the Apostle's success, the revulsion of feeling against him, the death by lance thrust and the burial prove that we are dealing with two recensions of the same tale, whether mythical or historical.

(*b*) The proper names in this section of *The Acts* do not belong to India at all : they are Greek, Roman, Iranian, Semitic : not one of them is Tamil or Sanskrit. Here they are :—

1. Mazdai	the king.
2. Tertia	the queen.
3. Narkia	her maid.
4. Vīzān	the prince.
5. Manashar	his wife.
6. Charisius	the king's kinsman.
7. Mygdonia	his wife.
8. Ṣīfūr	a general.

Of these names No. 2 is Latin, Nos. 3, 6, and 7 are Greek, and all the others are Iranian or Semitic. Since the royal names, Gūdnaphar and Gad, which the author of *The Acts* found in the old document preserved in the Church in Edessa, were Iranian, he evidently imagined that the king of the other kingdom and most of the people of his court would have names belonging to Iran also. Further, since Greeks and Romans were found in all the countries of the Near East, and since the old Edessene document showed that there were Greeks in Taxila, he concluded that an admixture of Greek and Roman names would be quite natural in the other kingdom also. Hence the mixed catalogue of names, not one of them Indian. Like a modern novelist he set in his romance such names as seemed to him suitable. Thus the whole list is fictitious.

Two of the names reflect the author's own country, Mesopotamia : Mazdai was a satrap who ruled Cilicia and Babylonia under Darius III. and Alexander the Great,[1] while Mygdonia was the Greek name of the district of Mesopotamia in which Nisibis stood. Was the author of *The Acts* educated in Nisibis ?

[1] *EB.*, xxiv., 230 b.

(*c*) The South Indian tradition says it was the Brāhmans who rose against Thomas, while *The Acts* puts down his death to the king. The tradition represents him as slain by the thrust of a single lance; *The Acts* says that four soldiers pierced him with their lances. But there need be no doubt as to which account is the original; for the points in which *The Acts* differs from the tradition both arise from the method by which the writer built up the main narrative of his book; *he makes Thomas's story in all essential points parallel with the story of Christ.*[1] Thus, since our Lord was tried and condemned by the Roman Governor of Judæa, Thomas had to be tried and condemned by the king of the kingdom where he had been preaching; and since four soldiers carried out the death-sentence on Jesus, Thomas had to have four executioners also.

But there is further evidence in favour of the tradition on both points.

(*a*) It is extremely unlikely that Thomas, after twenty years of strenuous work, distinguished by harmonious relations with the government in each of the three kingdoms, would suddenly be betrayed into such conduct as would draw down upon him the wrath of the Chola ruler. The hot jealousy of the priests blazing out in a sudden unpremeditated riot is thus much the more probable of the two accounts.

(*b*) With regard to both points we seem to have conclusive evidence: the Edessene tradition clearly ran that he was killed by the thrust of one lance; for the Nestorian Liturgy reads so;[2] also the Monophysite;[3] and Assemani, the great eighteenth century scholar from the East,[4] also speaks of the single lance.[5] From Edessa the single lance passed to the West;[6] and when the Portuguese reached Mylapore early in the sixteenth century, they found the old tradition still there.[7]

There is also an old Syriac MS.[8] which says that the Brāhmans killed him. So the ancient tradition about the Brāhmans was also spread in the east from Edessa.

These facts seem to be explainable in one way only, viz. that the story of the Apostle's death, brought to Edessa from India with his

[1] See my former paper, p. 8.
[2] Medly, 23, 24, 41.
[3] *Ibid.*, 40.
[4] *E.B.*, II., 779.
[5] *B.O.*, IV., 33.
[6] Medly, 62, 68.
[7] *Ibid.*, 133.
[8] *Ibid.*, 152.

relics, constantly repeated in the Church services there, and thence spread all over the East and also the West, was that "he died a martyr, pierced by a single lance in a sudden attack made on him by Brāhmans."

It thus seems to be plain that, in these two points, the tradition of the South Indian Church is *original*, and the tale told in *The Acts secondary*.

If, then, we are right in our reasoning, this version of the martyrdom, which is common to South India and Edessa, is earlier than *The Acts*, and therefore goes back to the second century at least.

The Apostle's remains, according to the tradition of S. India and also of Edessa, were buried at Mylapore,[1] in the vicinity of the spot where he was slain.

The Acts contains, in the account given of the martyrdom and what followed, another statement which is demonstrably false. We are told that King Mazdai, eager to use one of the bones of the Apostle to cure his son, who was possessed of a devil, went to the grave where he had been buried, but found that his remains had been already removed.[2] He therefore took some of the dust of the grave and professing faith in the Lord Jesus, hung it upon his son, who was thereby cured.

It is quite clear, as we shall see, that it was at a much later date that the remains were stolen and carried to Edessa; so that here once more, whether through sheer carelessness or of set purpose, the author perverts history. But, though he paid scant respect to history, he took care to build up a dramatic climax for his romance!—*The remains are stolen away; the king wishes to use them to cure his son, and has to be content with the dust of the grave instead; the dust proves miraculously efficient; and King Mazdai becomes a Christian!*

The whole narrative of *The Acts*, including the removal of the relics to Edessa, is thus kept within the limits of the Apostolic age;

[1] See above, p. 34.

[2] The Syriac text reads, "And he did not find the bones, for one of the brethren had taken them away secretly and conveyed them to the West," while the Greek text reads, "And he went and opened the sepulchre but found not the Apostle there, for one of the brethren had stolen him away and taken him unto Mesopotamia."

and the illusion, that the book was written in those early days also,[1] remains possible. The writer, doubtless, had both these ends in view.

XIA. We may at this point also call attention to other features of the Travancore tradition as a whole. It is *exceeding primitive, absolutely in accordance with first-century facts:* the Apostle's two groups of Churches reflect the sea-trade of the first century, the western related to Muziris and Nelcynda, the eastern to the Chola ports. Thomas is not said to have built a church nor to have consecrated a bishop. There is in it no reflection of the close connection with Edessa and Persia, which at later dates dominated the churches of the South. Another striking characteristic is this, that it contains no miraculous incident. Another is that not a single point in the tradition comes from *The Acts*, although, necessarily, that work has been well known in South India from a very early date. There is one detail which is worth special notice: Thomas is not called "Judas Thomas" in the tradition: and I can myself testify from personal observation that in Travancore to-day he is invariably called simply Thomas.[2] The fact that the Syrian Church has kept its story of the Apostle uncontaminated by statements from *The Acts*, although the book has been well known from an early date, shows how conscious the people are that they are custodians of an original tradition.

XII. We return to the Apostle's letters: if they were actually received in Edessa, they would create a bond between him and the Church of Edessa; and his martyrdom would deepen the attachment. Since ships from the Persian Gulf constantly visited the ports of South India,[3] merchants from Edessa would from time to time arrive amidst the stream of travellers. Then, from the end of the first century, when the labours of Addai had built up a considerable Christian community in Edessa and Osrhoene, *Christian* merchants from

[1] The first sentence of the Greek version of *The Acts* reads, "At that season all we the apostles were at Jerusalem," thus definitely asserting the apostolic origin of the work. J., 365.

[2] We may therefore conclude that during his lifetime in S. India, he was, in ordinary circumstances, always called Thomas. Only in personal letters or in legal documents would his name Judas be used.

[3] See above, p. 31. In 117 A.D., Trajan, when in the East for the Parthian expedition, travelled to the mouth of the Euphrates and watched the ships spreading their sails for India. Dion Cassius, lxvii., 28. I owe this reference to *IWW.*, 127.

Edessa and Charax Spasini would occasionally come to Muziris, Nelcynda, and the ports on the east coast, and would join in the services of the local churches with great joy. Thus the centres where the Apostle had laboured and the place where he lay buried would be perfectly well known to a few mercantile Christians at least belonging to Edessa and the Gulf ports.

If the Apostle, while labouring in the South, had, as we suggest, corresponded with Edessa, it is probable that, after his death, the Christian leaders of the South would keep up friendly intercourse with the Church of Edessa. From 99 A.D., when Addai left Edessa for the East,[1] there was a Bishop of Edessa, the first being Bishop Aggai; while the Churches of South India had only Presbyters. It is thus quite possible that, from the early decades of the second century, the Christians of South India may have recognised, in some sense, the supremacy of Edessa. As Syriac Gospels and Epistles appeared in Edessa, copies would be sent to South India. It is certainly the belief of the Syrian Church to-day that, from the very beginning, their scriptures and their liturgy have been in Syriac. It is also probable that the earliest Bishops of the Church of South India were consecrated in Edessa.[2]

XIII. We turn now to the second century. At some date between 115 and 120 A.D., Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, was sent to Rome as a prisoner for the faith. His letters, written at various points on the journey, stirred Christians to the utmost enthusiasm wherever they were read. At Rome he was thrown to the lions; and his heroic death filled every believing heart with surging emotion. His bones, eagerly rescued and preserved, were carried to Antioch as a precious heritage of the Church and buried. Each commemoration of his martyrdom was a triumph.[3]

Now to Edessa Antioch was a near neighbour, and the two cities had close commercial relations. The Edessene Church was necessarily much influenced by the example of the famous church for which Paul and Barnabas, and Peter also, had laboured. The death of Ignatius, the careful preservation of his bones, and the great religious

[1] He left Edessa in 99 A.D., and crossed the Tigris to carry the message of the Cross to the countries beyond. See Mingana, *Sources Syriaques*, 80.

[2] See below, p. 42. [3] MacCulloch, ERE., x., 653.

gain won by his commemoration must have made a deep impression on Edessa ; and Edessene Christians would remember their martyred Apostle Thomas, whose remains lay far away in India. The Christians of South India in turn would glory in their martyr and would celebrate his Natal Day (i.e. the day of his martyrdom) with still deeper joy and thanksgiving.

In 155 A.D., Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, was burned to death in his own episcopal city. All that was left of him was buried by the people who loved him ; and every year, on his natal day, *the Eucharist was celebrated on his grave.* "There . . . with joy and gladness, we shall be permitted by the Lord to Celebrate the anniversary of his martyrdom."[1] The result was great crowds of communicants and much religious emotion.

Naturally, every Church which had a martyr's relics within reach imitated the new practice, and each Natal Day became a time of eager worship and fresh Christian experience. The Church of what is now Mylapore, Madras, would celebrate the triumph of Thomas with great joy and many tears ; and the Church of Edessa, accustomed to hear his letters read and the story of his martyrdom told annually, would long with a deeper passion to possess his relics.

Then, about 163 A.D., when the new form of celebration was already well established, a Christian merchant from Edessa happens to arrive by sea in Supaṭṭanam, for commercial purposes, early in December.[2] As we have seen, this port was in the vicinity of Mylapore. As soon as he can spare the time, he visits the Church, and hears that on the 21st the martyrdom of Thomas will be commemorated by the celebration of the Eucharist on his grave. He attends the service, receives the Eucharist, and shares in all the joy and surging emotion of the occasion. Thomas had meant much to him all his life ; but he had never had such an experience as this before. The extraordinary effect produced on the crowds who attended the commemoration marked the day for him for ever.

Soon after, he sails away with his merchandise to the Gulf, and

[1] *ERE.*, X., 653 ; *Epistle concerning the Martyrdom of St. Polycarp*, 18.

[2] Voyages between the Gulf and S. India would not usually take place during the S.W. Monsoon ; but sailing would be easy from September to the end of May. Thus November and December would be the time when ships from the gulf would naturally arrive in S. India.

thence travels by road to Edessa. There he tells all his friends what he had heard and seen and felt. Clergy and laity are equally stirred. That is what happens at the grave of their own Apostle Thomas, who had honoured the Church of Edessa with his letters !—What would *they* not give to have his relics ?—The merchant broods over the matter in silence and decides, in his own mind, *to act* on the occasion of his next voyage to South India.

So a couple of years later, he starts out with several trusty servants from Edessa, and, in one of the Gulf ports, finds a ship about to sail for South India. The captain, at his request, readily agrees to call at Supaṭṭanam ; and in due time they arrive. The merchant goes out the first night, surveys the field of operations, and decides on his strategy. He had had a wooden case prepared to hold the remains. Next night, when the dark is deepest and nobody is about, he and his servants start out, carrying the case and the necessary tools with them. They reach the grave without being observed, open it, take out the remains, place them in the case, and restore the grave with as much care as possible, so that the theft may not be discovered. They then walk back to the ship. In a few days the ship leaves, the Apostle's remains on board. Some time is spent in calling at several other South Indian ports. They then sail direct for the Gulf and arrive at Charax towards the end of May. The merchant and his servants start out as soon as possible by road, call at Nisibis on the way, and arrive in Edessa on the 3rd of July. The reception they received may be left to the reader's imagination ! The remains were buried in the city ; and the Bishop ordained that a festival should be held annually on the 3rd July. It was at a much later date that another commercial city, the mistress of the Adriatic, became possessed by theft of the relics or supposed relics of Saint Mark.

Why do we suggest that the removal of the remains is to be placed about 165 A.D. ?—An Indian Christian named Theodore visited the scene of the martyrdom probably between 570 and 580 A.D., and then went to Europe. Tours was one of the cities he went to see ; and Gregory, the great bishop, received him and had a good deal of conversation with him. He described the martyrdom of the Apostle and then said, *Corpus post multum tempus adsumptum in civitatem quam Syri Aedissam vocant ibique sepultum.*[1] Here we have the

[1] Medly., 69-112.

local tradition, proving that it was long after 72 A.D. before the remains were stolen. With this agrees a hymn by Ephraem Syrus, written in Edessa, where he spent the last ten years of his life, 363-373 A.D. The lines run,

> Thomas, whence thy lineage,
> That so illlustrious thou shouldest become?
> A merchant thy bones conveys;
> A Pontiff assigns thee a feast;
> A King a shrine erects.[1]

These lines mean that, when the merchant brought the bones to Edessa, the Bishop ordained that a festival in honour of the martyr should be held annually on the 3rd July and that, at a later date, when the royal family had accepted Christianity, one of the kings of Edessa built the Church of S. Thomas in the city, which Assemani tells us[2] was there, when Ephraem was in Edessa. The saint, standing in the Church, apostrophizes the Martyr-Apostle in these words. The mention of the Pontiff in the hymn proves that we are right in assigning the theft of the relics to the second century; for there were no bishops in Edessa until the second century. If our conjecture that the relics were brought to Edessa about 165 A.D. is near the truth, then Bishop Hystasp[3] may have been the Pontiff who ordained the feast.

On the other hand, since *The Acts*, the date of which lies somewhere round 200 A.D., represents the theft as taking place shortly after the martyrdom, it is scarcely possible to put the date much later than 165 A.D. Clearly, by the time *The Acts* was written, the arrival of the relics in Edessa already seemed to the ordinary man to be long past. Otherwise, the author of *The Acts* would not have dared to place the event so early. If the writer had made inquiry, the Church authorities would, in all probability, have been able to give him the date; but historical accuracy was the last thing he had in view. The history of the rise of the veneration of relics makes the years about 165 A.D. the most probable time for the removal.[4]

Similarly, the general course of Christian history[4] makes it probable

[1] Lamy, *S. Ephraemi Syri Hymni et Sermones*, Vol. IV., col. 694 (Mechliniæ, 1902), translated, Medly., 27.

[2] *BO.*, I., 49. The passage is quoted, Medly., 102-3.

[3] Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, 30.

[4] MacCulloch, *ERE.*, X., 653.

that it was about 350 A.D. that the earliest church of S. Thomas was erected in Edessa ; and, as we have already seen, it was certainly in existence between 363 and 373 when Ephraem was in the city.

Finally, it is in full accordance with the history of the use of relics in the Christian Church [1] that the *arca* containing the Apostle's relics was removed in 394 A.D. to the great church dedicated to him in the city.[2]

XIV. *What happened at Nicaea?* During the period before the great Council at Nicaea, no leader of the Church of the West says that Thomas went to India. Origen remarks, in his *Commentary on Genesis*, "According to tradition, Thomas's allotted field of labour was Parthia." Eusebius quotes the passage in his *Ecclesiastical History*,[3] and elsewhere in the same work he follows Origen in the matter. Thus far the West expressed itself before Nicaea. After Nicaea also, the historians Rufinus and Socrates follow Origen and Eusebius, saying Thomas went to Parthia : the authority of the great theologian and the first historian was enough for them.

But, after Nicaea, every Western writer, whether Greek or Latin (with the exception of the two historians just named), and all liturgies and martyrologies say that Thomas went to India.[4] The evidence may be seen in Medlycott.[5]

How are we to account for the changed conviction ? At the great Council, the Churches of the East were well represented. Amongst the bishops present there were Aitalaha, Bishop of Edessa, Jacob, Bishop of Nisibis and John the Persian, who signed himself as presiding over "the Churches of *the whole of Persia and Great India*." The phrase "Great India," would fall very naturally from the lips of a Persian ; for a large piece of territory to the west of the Indus was, in those days, frequently called *India*[6] as well as the great

[1] MacCulloch, *ERE.*, X., 653.

[2] See *The Chronicle of Edessa* in Assemani, *BO.*, I., 399.

[3] Published shortly before the Council met. The reference is III., 1.

[4] A few writers, it is true, conflate the two statements, representing Thomas as going overland through Mesopotamia, Persia, and Parthia, to India ; but that theory is merely a trick to get rid of the discrepancy between East and West and need not detain us. It is demonstrably unhistorical. See my previous paper, 31-32.

[5] Pp. 42-48 ; 48-68.

[6] Sometimes called "White India" : *CHI.*, I., 327.

sub-continent to the east of the river. The reason for this strange usage was that for many centuries, seemingly from the time of the great Darius downwards to the time of Nicaea, it had been ruled by various dynasties, as forming, along with a larger or smaller amount of territory to the east of the Indus, one great satrapy or kingdom.[1] Hence the necessity for distinguishing between the comparatively small India on the nearer side of the Indus and the whole vast country beyond the river.

John the Persian was thus Metropolitan of Persia and of India proper. Under him (besides the Bishop or Bishops of the St. Thomas Churches in South India, if such existed), there were probably several missionary Bishops in India; for by the time of Nicaea, the churches of Mesopotamia and Persia had a vigorous missionary policy for India. We have a clear reference to a man named Daud or David, who gave up the Bishopric of Bussorah on the Gulf to go out to India as a Missionary Bishop. The date of his appointment is late in the third century.[2] The Church of Travancore has also a tradition that, in 345 A.D., Mar Joseph of Edessa arrived in their midst and became their bishop.[3] There thus need be not the slightest doubt that John's Metropolitan see included India properly so called.

John, in all probability, had travelled in India himself. In any

[1] It seems certain that it was the almost incredible revenues which a strong government was able, during those centuries, to draw from the double province that led to its being considered a unit, and also to the many furious wars fought for its possession. Darius seized it, and it was by far the richest satrapy of his mighty empire; Alexander seized it; the Mauryas seized it; then came the Greeks of Bactria; next the Scytho-Parthians; then the Kushāns; and finally the Huns. One of the chief sources of its great revenues was, presumably, the customs, levied on the Indus, at all points from the Himalayas to the sea, wherever the gigantic trade with the West crossed the river, or began its ascent or descent. The chief element in the vast traffic was the products of China, which were brought westward by land and carried over the Himalayas to the Indus valley, whence they were either exported to the West by land or sea, or were distributed over N. India; but Indian goods were also largely exported; and there was a very big import trade from the West. These facts help us to gauge the importance of the position held by Habbān, King Gūdnaphar's Trade Minister.

[2] *Patrologia Orientalis*, IV., 292-3. I owe this reference to Dr. Mingana.

[3] I owe this to Mr. T. K. Joseph, B.A., L.T., of Trivandrum, Travancore. Mar Joseph, in all probability, is only one in a long succession of Bishops sent from Mesopotamia or Persia to S. India.

case the Missionary Bishops who were working in India under his supervision would travel widely and would send him frequent and full reports. He thus had all the facts before him. Aitalaha of Edessa knew the whole story of the connection of Edessa with Thomas ; and the Bishop of Nisibis would also be well acquainted with it. Further, John the Persian knew, with absolute certainty, that Thomas had never been in Parthia : neither Edessa nor Persia had ever had such a tradition ; and there was not a scrap of evidence to be found in Parthia itself in support of the Alexandrian story.

It thus seems extremely probable that the question of Thomas's apostolate in the East was raised at the Council, and that these three men were able to lay conclusive evidence before the Bishops. Clearly, the scholars of the fourth century had had evidence of such a decisive character presented to them that they felt that the great authority of Origen and the Church historians *had* to be discarded. In any case, since then, the tradition of the West has been that Thomas founded the Church of Christ in India.

XV. *Is the story of Thomas as reconstructed historical?* We shall now endeavour to consider judicially the question, is the story of Thomas in Alexandria, N. India, and S. India, as we have reconstructed it, a myth or a genuine piece of history ?

As we have seen, the whole Church from Edessa eastward, long before Nicaea, believed and taught with the utmost consistency that Thomas had laboured in India and had died as a martyr there ; and, after Nicaea, the Western Church held the same tradition.

Yet, such grave difficulties seem to stand in the way of an acceptance of his Indian apostolate as historical that modern scholars, with almost complete unanimity, have pronounced the tale mythical. They have stated :—

A. That, until the fourth century, there is no clear evidence of the existence of the churches which the Apostle is said to have founded in South India.

Strange though this fact may seem at first sight, if the churches were actually founded in the first century, there are two weighty considerations which go a very long way towards accounting for the lack of definite historical proof, in the literature, of the existence of the churches in those early days.

(*a*) The Church of South India throughout the whole course of its

history, has been a living witness for Christ, but it has done very little indeed for literature or theology; while practically all the Christian literature which the Church and the people possessed was burned by the Roman Priests in 1599 A.D., after the Synod of Diamper.[1] The character and the history of the Church must be recognised. Lack of literary evidence from Travancore is inevitable.

(*b*) From Edessa, itself, the fountain of Syriac literature, very little has survived from the first two centuries. The destruction of the earliest Church of Edessa by the violent flood of the river Daisan in 201 A.D.—a flood which overthrew the walls of the city, the royal palace, and a large proportion of the houses of the wealthy citizens and drowned two thousand persons[2]—necessarily robbed the Church of all the early MSS. kept in the Church building. How much Christian literature, kept in other buildings, must have perished in the same overwhelming disaster! Of the few pieces of literature belonging to the second and third centuries, which have survived, each bears witness in one way or another to the interest of the Edessene Church in Thomas: there are only two exceptions, the *Diatessaron*, which was written in Rome, and Bar Daisan's *Book of the Laws of Countries*. All the others—*The Sinai Palimpsest*, *The Curetonian Syriac*, *The Acts of Judas Thomas*, *The Doctrine of Addai* and *The Didascalia*—mention him in one way or another; and the last-named document implies that the priesthood created by him was still existent both in India and the East.[3] Thus the extreme scantiness of the surviving literature of Travancore and Edessa reduces the absence of definite evidence of the existence of the churches in S. India to a fact of very little weight. To this general judgment, there is, however, one notable exception: it does, in the circumstances, seem very strange that there is no mention of the Churches in Bar Daisan's work, *The Book of the Laws of Countries*, in which that scholar mentions Christians in other lands of the East.[4]

[1] Milne Rae, *The Syrian Church in India*, 251; Adeney, *The Greek and Eastern Churches*, 529.

[2] See *The Chronicle of Edessa* in Assemani, *B.O.*, I., 390.

[3] Nau, *La Didascalie des Douze Apôtres*, Paris, 1912, p. 232; Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, 33.

[4] The fact that he describes the ethical customs of the Brāhmans and also of other Hindu groups leads the reader to expect an account of Indian Christians also: can a sentence have dropped out of the MS?

B. That the Church was probably founded by Persian Christian Refugees, fleeing from their native land to escape the terrible persecutions which the Sassanian Government instituted against them, first in 327 A.D., and again, much more seriously, in 343.[1]

The historical parallel of the Persian Zoroastrians, who, at the beginning of the eighth century, fled to Western India to escape the sword of Islam, gives this conjecture a certain plausibility ; but no scrap of actual evidence for such an immigration exists. There is less evidence for it than for the Church of St. Thomas. Further, the theory is now quite untenable. From the evidence which we have just given about Bishop David, who was sent from Mesopotamia to India towards the end of the third century, and about John, Metropolitan of Persia and India, in the first quarter of the fourth century, who was present at the Nicene Council, it is now clear that, whatever may be the truth about the story of Thomas in India, the Christian movement in India was already in existence[2] some considerable time before the Sassanian persecution broke out.

C. That there is no single consistent tradition about Thomas's supposed Eastern Apostolate :—

1. The tradition of Alexandria, handed down by Origen, is that he went to *Parthia.*

2. The tradition of *The Acts*, which is a version of the Edessene tradition, is that he preached in *North India* and then in *another unnamed Indian kingdom*, where he also suffered martyrdom.

3. The South Indian tradition vouches only for his work and his death in *South India.*

This problem may be very easily solved. The Alexandrian tradition, that he went to Parthia, is manifestly a mistake for North India.[3] The tradition of South India has preserved an account only of the Apostle's work there ; but, as we have shewn, his work in South India is very closely linked to his work in the North, and the

[1] Garbe, *Indien und Das Christentum* (Tübingen, 1914), 153.

[2] Cf. also the Travancore tradition mentioned above, p. 30, n. 2.

[3] See my former paper, 9, 30, where τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ ψεύδους is shewn. Gutschmid and Lipsius long ago recognized that the two traditions were variant versions of the same story : Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, I., 278-9.

Alexandrian tradition supports the latter. Thus *The Acts*, which means Edessa, vouches for both the North and the South; while Alexandria, rightly understood, confirms the North, and South India confirms the South. There are thus two witnesses for each. Both, as the writer holds, are historical; and Edessa knew of both, probably from the Apostle's own correspondence, as we have seen.

D. THAT THE ACTS, THE EARLIEST WORK IN WHICH HIS WORK AND HIS MARTYRDOM ARE DESCRIBED, IS CLEARLY A WORK OF THE IMAGINATION AND THEREFORE IS NOT TO BE TRUSTED.

It is quite true that, like the other *Acta* of the second and third centuries, *The Acts of Judas Thomas* is very largely fiction; and we are bound to thrust out all the mythology as thoroughly as possible. Yet, most examples of this type of literature have at least a historical kernel; and it is now universally acknowledged that there are certain statements in the *Acts of Thomas* which are genuinely historical. We shall therefore fail in our duty, unless we watch with extreme care, lest other historical passages escape our notice.

Though these four difficulties, taken as a group, sound rather formidable, yet no one of them by itself, nor even in combination with the rest, would necessarily be fatal to the historicity of Thomas's labours in India. These considerations influence men's minds seriously, chiefly because *The Acts* itself makes a very bad impression on the thoughtful reader, and the idea necessarily occurs that the whole story may be mythical. Then, when the student hears these scientific objections, which chime so well with the sceptical impressions already in his mind, they seem to seal the doom of the whole story.

Thus the negative conclusion reached by scholars rests upon a considerable foundation of hard facts, even if most of them are explainable. THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT, ON A SURVEY OF ALL THE EVIDENCE AVAILABLE THIRTY YEARS AGO, THAT WAS THE BEST HYPOTHESIS THAT COULD BE REACHED.

Yet, it was but a hypothesis. No evidence was available to prove that Thomas was *not* in India between 48 and 72 A.D. The right statement is that no sufficient evidence existed to prove conclusively that he *was* there; and, since many particulars seemed to tend in the other direction, the negative conclusion was the best hypothesis possible in the circumstances.

But a number of pieces of fresh evidence, each having some bearing

on the question, have cropped up in recent years; and the whole situation in the East in the first centuries of our era has received considerable illumination from recent discovery and research; so that our survey of all the facts may possibly be timely.

It is quite true that we possess no evidence which decisively proves the existence of the Churches at an early date, but evidence exists which carries back the story of Thomas's Indian apostolate to a very early time, as has been shown in my first paper.[1] We can *prove* that the Church of Edessa knew his story by 140 A.D.; and Edessene statements carry the story back to the apostle's letters.

The history of the criticism of *The Acts* may be of interest at this point. Scholars originally regarded Gūdnaphar, Gad, and Ḥabbān and all that is said about them as purely mythical.

Then, (*a*) about 1834 an English scholar named Masson found a coin in Afghanistan bearing the name Gondophares; and it became clear that King Gūdnaphar was a historical king. Later, (*b*) an inscription was found which fixed his approximate date, and it became clear that he was a contemporary of the Apostle. Still later, (*c*) other coins were found on which Gondophares and Guḍa are together named as viceroys under the suzerainty of Orthagnes. These date from the years before the accession of Gondophares to the throne; and they justify us in regarding Gad the king's brother of the *Acts* as a historical person. Finally, (*d*) it was pointed out in my former paper that in the phrase, "the merchant of King Gūdnaphar," we have another historical reference. The minister in charge of the king's trade was a most important official in early India; and the great position which Ḥabbān occupied explains *his visit to Alexandria* and *his bold invitation to Thomas to evangelize the Punjaub*. It also enables us to understand *the selection of Tamil India as the Apostle's field*, when the Punjaub became impossible, and *the fine strategy which marks his work in the South*.

6. If the plans and enterprises attributed to Ḥabbān and Thomas in this paper strike some minds as almost too great to be historical, the writer would recall the larger background of these events. If our reconstruction is approximately right, then Thomas went with Ḥabbān to the East very shortly after Hippalus had harnessed the S.W. Mon-

[1] Pp. 32, 33.

soon to his will,[1] and while Gūdnaphar's empire in all its splendour and wealth still stood strong. The years he spent in the Punjaub and in the Tamil country coincide with the decades when the sea-trade of the Mediterranean with India was at its greatest,[2] as the coin-finds of South India testify.[3] Hence both North and South India experienced then a time of buoyant prosperity, which favoured intellectual, artistic, and religious progress.

Certainly, in the North, education, literature, philosophy, art,[4] and the drama[5] all flourished; and the appearance of a theistic Hinduism in the *Bhagavadgītā* and of a new Buddhism known as the Mahāyāna, both demonstrably created for the cultured laity of the day,[6] is eloquent proof that a large section of the population was well prepared for the Christian message.

We know far less about Tamil India at this period than we do about the North; but Tamil poems[7] give us glowing pictures of wealth, comfort, and happiness in the chief cities then, which are corroborated by briefer notices in the classical writers.[8]

7. We have urged above, that in the circumstances of thirty years ago the conclusion, that the tales about Thomas's apostolate in India were mythical, was the best judgment that could be formed on the evidence then available. We would now suggest that it would be reasonable to form a rather different conclusion about the story as we have set it forth in these two papers.

We cannot *prove* that the story as we have told it is history, for there is no conclusive evidence to show that the events of which it consists are each historical. Yet its character is such that it is difficult to believe that it can be other than actual history:—

A. It has not a single facet that suggests legend.

B. According to the most searching analysis, three tales about Thomas arose in the middle of the first century, one in Alexandria, another in the Punjaub, a third in South India. The second and the third were put together as a single history in Edessa. These four

[1] *TR.*, 60, *IWW.*, 109 f.
[2] *IWW.*, 101-3.
[3] *TR.*, 69, *IWW.*, 102-3.
[4] Marshall, *CHI.*, I., 637-49.
[5] Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, 72, 80 ff.
[6] Farquhar, *Religious Literature of India*, 78-79; 86-91; 110-11.
[7] *CHI.*, 212, 597; Iyengar, *Dravidian India*, 145 ff.; 190 f.; 219.
[8] *Periplus*, 44, 54, 56; Pliny, *NH.*, VI., 26.

places are separated from each other by enormous distances.[1] Yet we can now see that the Punjaub story and the South India story fit together in the most perfect way, forming one consistent life-history, the destruction of the Scytho-Parthian empire providing the explanation of the Apostle's flight from the North to the South. Further, our modern knowledge of the Scytho-Parthian kings obtained from inscriptions and coins, enables us to see that the Alexandrian story and the Punjaub story are variant versions of one event[2] and to decide in favour of the form of the tale which comes from the Punjaub.

C. The whole story, as we have told it, is in complete harmony with all that is known to-day of the history of both North and South India, of the trade between the Mediterranean and India, and of the great harbours of India, in the first century A.D. There is no single feature of the narrative that is in any sense suspicious. How could a mere myth, created in three far-sundered centres, assume the lineaments of history with such success?

Thirty years ago the balance of the probability stood absolutely against the story of the Apostolate of Thomas in India: We suggest that to-day the balance of probability is distinctly on the side of historicity.

There is one prominent feature of the Nestorian Christianity of the far East which ought to be realized by every student who touches the problem of S. Thomas.

Nestorianism spread throughout the East from Edessa and Persia. The Church was most enthusiastically missionary in spirit and achieved almost incredible success.[3] Her representatives went preaching, not only in the vicinity of Mesopotamia and Persia, but in every part of Eastern Iran, Turkestan, Central Asia, India, China, Siberia. For centuries there were a great many Archbishoprics covering almost the

[1] It is about 3500 miles by sea and river from Alexandria to Taxila. From Taxila to Muziris by river and sea is 2000 miles; and from Taxila to Edessa the distance by road is at least 2000 miles, while by river, sea, and road it is much more.

[2] If the story which arose in India and brings Thomas *from Alexandria to India* is a baseless myth, how did the Church *in Alexandria* come to believe that he had gone to the Far East?

[3] See Mingana, *The Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East*, in the BULLETIN of July, 1925.

whole of Central and Eastern Asia. The number of Nestorian Christians in those days must have been fabulously great. No Church has ever done more for the spread of Christianity.

Yet the whole vast community has almost entirely disappeared. War, persecution, and the rude methods of Oriental and Moslem government have sufficed to destroy it. Central Asia, the Chinese Empire, Siberia, India, Iran, Persia, Mesopotamia, all tell the same tale. Nestorianism in each of these lands, once splendidly strong, has utterly perished, or has left only the weakest possible remnants. Even the Church of Edessa—fertile seedplot of the whole amazing growth —has passed utterly away !

Surely this history, at once so noble and so pitiful, is proof that there was something lacking in Nestorian Christianity.

Contrast the Church of Travancore. For centuries it was governed by Nestorian prelates and professed the Nestorian faith. Yet to-day it survives, is strong and healthy, and takes a share in the great task of the Christianization of India. Whence this tough strength, this vital power to survive ? Can we believe that, as founded, it was merely Nestorian ? Must we not conclude that there was in the Church, from the very beginning, a vital faith creating a virile stability which has never marked Nestorianism ?

Thus the history of the Church of Travancore bears witness to the courage and endurance which the Apostolic Founder breathed into her spirit. In her case the word of Christ is fulfilled, "The gates of Hell shall not prevail against it."

APOLLO IN THE SKY.

By L. W. GRENSTED, M.A., B.D.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.

IN his article *Apollo's Birds*[1] Dr. Rendel Harris has brought together a considerable body of material connecting Apollo with the migratory Whooper Swans, and these again with a swan-cult at a sanctuary in the far North. It is here suggested that certain astronomical facts must be read in the same context. All that is attempted is to state these facts. Others with wider knowledge must supply the interpretation.

The mediaeval star-maps show in the Northern hemisphere, not far from Ursa Minor, the well-known constellation of Cygnus, the Swan. The Swan is flying from the North, with outstretched wings (like a good migrant) in the direction of the constellation of Hercules. And, one on each side of the Swan's head, are Lyra and Sagitta. Here we have Apollo's bird, his two most typical symbols, the lyre and the arrow, and Heracles, his close associate in legend. Where is Apollo himself? The only obvious suggestions are either (1) that he is Heracles, which is entirely improbable, especially as this constellation is a renaming of the ancient ὁ ἐν γόνασι, the Man on his Knees, who has nothing of Apollo about him, or (2) that he is himself the Swan.[2] But if this latter interpretation is true, we are dealing with very early religious mythology indeed, and the history of the constella-

[1] In JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY BULLETIN, vol. ix, No. 2, 1925.

[2] It is impossible to correct Sagittarius, the Archer of the Zodiac, with the Cygnus group and so to identify him with Apollo. In the first place he is too far away, some 60° from Cygnus, and indeed the most Southerly constellation of the Zodiac. Secondly, he is shooting at the Scorpion, and Aratus (ll. 311, 312) already knows that the Arrow is not that from the Archer's bow. And, thirdly, he is of the Centaur type, and the Scholiasts unite in giving him a horse's legs and tail (cf. Maas, *Comm. in Aratum*, p. 239.)

tion becomes of great interest in connection with the origins of Greek religion.

The Bird, ὄρνις, was well known to the Greek astronomers, Aratus and Eudoxus. But when, why, and by whom, was it first identified as a swan? The first apparent reference is in the enigmatic person called Teucros the Babylonian by the later astrologers. Cumont (*Klio*, ix, 3) says of this writer that he "transmitted to the Greeks the knowledge of a good number of barbarous constellations" and dates him not later than the first century A.D. Boll, in his *Sphaera*, has collected the fragments which survive, none however being earlier than the fifth and sixth centuries. These show considerable variation in the relevant passages, some giving ὄρνις and some κύκνος, a fact which suggests that our evidence is not really earlier than the various copyists. There are, however, some striking points Two fragments (Boll, p. 104) mention Apollo and Heracles with the lyre, these, so far as I know, being the only passages where Apollo himself appears. The fragment imbedded in Rhetorios (Boll, p. 20) gives, in the third Decan of Ὑδροχόος, ὁ μέγας ὄρνις ὃν καλοῦσι κύκνον, ⟨ . . . . ⟩ ὃν καλοῦσιν ἱπποκράτορα, καὶ λύκος δάκνων τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ.

Here the "bird" is identified, apparently in accordance with popular tradition, with a Swan, and, further, the constellation usually called τὸ θηρίον (so Hipparchus, I, 10. 17, quoting Eudoxus) has become a wolf, and the Centaur a horse-tamer. There is nothing "Babylonian" in this, and, indeed, the title probably only means that Teucros was an astronomer. The whole group of names is European and Northern. And the first parallel that rises to the mind is the Scandinavian legend of the binding of the wolf Fenrir, in which the war-god, Tyr, places his right hand in the wolf's mouth, losing it in the ensuing struggle. The fragment from Julianus has ὄρνις and so has that from Laurentianus at this point. But the latter mentions ὁ κύκνος in the previous group, and it is clearly a singing swan, since it is a constellation governing ᾠδυλάλους, ποιητάς, πρεσβυτάς.

It is difficult to say just how far this evidence is good for the first century A.D. It is clear that from the fifth century on the singing swan was firmly established in the sky. A study of the tradition in the Scholiasts (see especially Maas, *Commentariorum in Aratum Reliquiæ*) shows a general tendency in the Greek to retain the name

ὄρνις but an almost invariable assumption by the Latin translators that this is equivalent to Cygnus. The connection with Apollo is remembered, but is usually abandoned in favour of that with the myth of Zeus and Leda or Nemesis, which appears to come from the famous but late καταστερισμοί, to which the name of Eratosthenes was attached. Thus (Maas, p. 394), τοῦτον τὸν Ὄρνιν οἱ μὲν λέγουσι κύκνον ὄντα καταστερισθῆναι μὲν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἅτε μουσικὸν ὄντα, οἱ δὲ ᾧ Ζεὺς εἰκασθεὶς ὡμίλησε Λήδᾳ, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους Νεμέσει. Here we note again, as in the fragment of Teucros quoted above, the apparent reference to a popular tradition as to the identity of the Bird. We find exactly the same turn of phrase in the καταστερισμοί themselves, which probably underlie the whole scholiastic tradition, οὗτός ἐστιν (Ὄρνις) ὁ καλούμενος μέγας, ὃν κύκνῳ εἰκάζουτι. The story of Zeus and Nemesis follows, but is clearly late and irrelevant for our purpose. More important is the note in the καταστερισμοί on the neighbouring constellation of the Arrow, τόξον :—

> τοῦτο τὸ βέλος ἐστὶ τοξικὸν ὅ φασιν εἶναι Ἀπόλλωνος, ὅτε δὴ τοὺς κύκλωπας τῷ Διὶ κεραυνὸν ἐργασαμένους ἀπέκτεινε δι' Ἀσκλήπιον. ἔκρυψε δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν ὑπερβορείοις οὗ καὶ ὁ ναὸς ὁ πτέρινος.

The reference to the series of traditions to which Dr. Rendel Harris has called attention is here quite explicit. And it may not be just an accident but due to the influence of a folk-lore resting upon a memory of actual swan-sacrifices that a Latin translator of the passage, regardless of sense, renders κύκλωπας by *cycnos* (Maas, p. 241).

The most important result of the examination of the scholiasts is the appearance of a definite folk-lore tradition, interpreting the astronomical name. This alone would suggest an ancient and probably a European origin for the "Swan" as a title for a constellation, especially as the evidence comes largely from the Latin side. But we can go behind the scholiasts, for if there is doubt about Teucros there is none about Hippolytus, whose *Philosophumena*, written early in the third century A.D., reveals to us that the Gnostics, as we might have expected, took a great interest in these astrological problems. Hippolytus himself substitutes a Christian interpretation, and, writing of the Holy Spirit, tells us incidentally that he knows the Bird not only as a Swan, but as a singing Swan :—

ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ὁ ὄρνις ὁ Κύκνος παρὰ τὰς ἄρκτους, μουσικὸν ζῷον, τοῦ θείου σύμβολον πνεύματος, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἤδη τοῖς τέρμασι γενόμενον τοῦ βίου μόνον ᾄδειν πέφυκε, μετὰ ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος τῆς κτίσεως πονηρᾶς ἀπαλλασσόμενον, ὕμνους ἀνάπεμπον τῷ Θεῷ.

We notice again that *ὄρνις* is the regular name, and *κύκνος* apparently a traditional interpretation. Further, as in Plato's *Phædo*, we have the ancient tradition of the Swan-song, a tradition which demands a special investigation of its own.

Can we make a further step backwards, and say that the Bird was known as a Swan as far back as the fourth century B.C., to Eudoxus and his versifier Aratus (on the connection see *e.g.* Hipparchus, ii, 1, 26)? All that we can say is that the figure is from the first that of a bird with outstretched neck and wings, flying from the North. Hipparchus, i, 2, 16 quotes both Eudoxus and Aratus :—

ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Ὄρνιθος ὁ μὲν Εὔδοξος· παρὰ τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα τοῦ Κηφέως ἡ δεξιὰ πτέρυξ ἐστὶ τοῦ Ὄρνιθος, παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἀριστερὰν πτέρυγα οἱ πόδες τοῦ Ἵππου. ὁ δὲ Ἄρατός φησιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὄρνιθος.

κατὰ δεξιὰ χειρός
Κηφείης ταρσοῖο τὰ δεξία πείρατα φαίνων
Λαιῇ δὲ πτέρυγι σκαρθμὸς παρακέκλιται Ἵππου.

The same direction is implied by Hipparchus, i, 6, 15, in answer to Aratus, who had said that the stars of the Bird are not very bright :—

πολλοὺς καὶ λαμπροὺς ἀστέρας ἔχει ὁ Ὄρνις, τὸν δὲ ἐν τῇ οὐρᾷ καὶ σφόδρα λαμπρόν, ἐγγιστά τε ἴσον τῷ ἐν τῇ Λύρᾳ λαμπρῷ.

Even more clearly is the direction of flight indicated in ii, 6, 7 :—

καὶ πρῶτος μὲν ἀστὴρ δύνει ὁ ἐν τῷ ῥύγχει, ἔσχατος δὲ ὁ βορειότερος τῶν ἐν ἄκρᾳ τῇ δεξιᾷ πτέρυγι.

The bright star in the Bird's tail is mentioned also by Ptolemaeus. The same thing comes out in the Arabic star-maps. The bright star in Cycnus is called Deneb, a name which it still bears on the celestial globe; the word means simply *Tail* in Arabic. The accompanying map of the northern celestial hemisphere will show clearly that the Bird is flying from the North-West, as it does, according to popular belief, in the Greek mythology. All these early Greek writers, without exception, call the constellation *ὄρνις*. Manilius, in the Teubner edition of Hipparchus, should not have translated *ὄρνις* by "Schwan" (or *θηρίον* by "Wolf"). But it seems clear enough that the figure of the Bird, as the Greeks conceived it, is entirely in keeping with the folk-lore interpretation which we found in Hippolytus and Scholiasts.

All this, with the references quoted by Dr. Rendel Harris from Euripides' *Ion* and Plato's *Phaedo*, carry us back to a much older stratum of folk-lore than the legend of King Cycnus, recorded by Pausanias, i, 30, 3 :—" A swan is reputed to be versed in the Muses' craft because they say that the Ligurians who dwell in the Celtic land beyond the Eridanus had a king called Cycnus, skilled in the Muses' arts, who at his death was turned by the will of Apollo into the bird." On this passage Frazer cites Verg., *Aen.*, x, 185-195, Ovid, *Met.*, ii, 367-380, Hyginus, *Fab.*, 154. Even here it is worth while to notice that the singing Swan is a king, and connected with Apollo. And though the allusions in Virgil and Ovid are too indefinite for any direct inference, it is curious that the one connects the dying swan with the stars (linquentem terras et sidera voce sequentem) and the other with the sky (fit nova Cycnus avis nec se caeloque Jovique credit).

At once a series of conjectures become possible. The tradition of the " Swan-song," which rests upon no fact of natural history, is too deeply rooted in folk-lore to be mere imagination. Is it an echo not only of Swan-sacrifices, offered each year at the time of migration of the Whooper Swans, but of sacrifices of the god-king, who was also, in the far North, the bard or ritual singer ? Dr. Rendel Harris has told us of the temple where the swans flew down singing at the time of sacrifice. May it not be that a Swan was god and victim too ? Have we not here the ornithological counterpart of the story of Balder the Beautiful, slain by the mistletoe twig, which is not only the " Golden Bough " but Apollo's golden arrow as well ? And does the tradition in the *Ion* represent the yearly sacrifice of the migrant god, whose spirit is thus retained at his temple for another year ?

Whatever be the truth of this suggestion it seems at least to bring together a number of hitherto unrelated facts. The wide-spread traditions about the Swan, no less than his place in the sky, seem to point to an early and a very wide-spread Swan-cult, current, probably, throughout Northern Europe. Of this only broken and almost unrecognisable traces remain, perhaps insufficient now for any full reading of the story.

The attached map will show the position of the Swan, the Lyre and the Arrow relatively to one another and to the Pole of the heavens.

THE NIGHT SKY AT LONDON ON THE 1ST. NOV., 1926.

Reproduced from the *Times* of that date, by the courteous permission of the Editor. The line of motion of the Swan relative to the N. and S. line through Polaris can easily be seen to be a N.W. flight on the celestial sphere.

FURTHER TRACES OF HITTITE MIGRATION.

By J. RENDEL HARRIS M.A., Litt.D., D.Theol., etc.

MY researches in recent years into the ancient trade-routes as they were marked out by the distribution of real or supposed necessaries of life, such as salt, amber and incense, taken along with the nucleation of such trade-routes at places where the commodities in question might be deposited, to the advantage of both buyer and seller, have led me to some results that were as surprising to myself, in the first instance, as they were hardly credible to those who follow our investigations. Whoever expected to see it affirmed that the Hittites were a sea-going people, and among the earliest colonists of the Mediterranean; that they traded in salt in the days when that commodity was first coming into use, and that they had practically a monopoly of its production and distribution? But what other conclusion could be drawn from the discovery that Ptolemy, writing ever so long after the Hittite Empire had disappeared, had recorded on the Libyan coast the existence of a town bearing a Hittite name, not very far removed from another town, whose name suggested salt-manufacture and distribution? And it was matter of immediate recognition that in the hinterland of the towns in question, there were caravan roads to the salt-producing areas around the temple of Jupiter Ammon, of whose existence Herodotus was well aware, roads which are still traversed, even though the salt market which they supplied has declined, and the Mediterranean peoples find their saline needs met nearer to their own homes. We owe a debt to Ptolemy, amongst a multitude of other obligations, for preserving to us, in his careful map of the Libyan coast, the names of *Chettaea* and *Selinous*. In the present article, we propose to turn back in our investigation, and, having assumed the known and established results with regard to

the greatness of the Hittite empire in Northern Syria, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, to go on with the enquiry whether further traces of Hittite migration and colonisation can be detected in the Mediterranean, the Ægean or the Black Sea.

Our starting-point, it will be remembered, was the claim that Hittite influence could be traced in Cyprus, especially in the eastern part of the island, which is commonly supposed to be a preserve of the Phœnicians. Certainly, if we can establish Hittite lordship, on the great or small scale, in Cyprus, we shall not allow the town of Citium (the modern Larnaka) to remain in Phœnician hands, especially when a lagoon, furnishing the finest salt of the day, lies close at hand, and when the Biblical Kittim, as a name for the island, lies so much nearer to a Hittite etymology than any name which Phœnicia can bring forward. Something of the same kind may be said of Salamis, which was a centre for the manufacture of salt from sea-water, and probably says so in its name, however much Semitic philologers may be allured into making it a second Jerusalem, a City of Peace. Suppose, then, we make Citium our starting-point for further investigations.

If we go up the Ægean Sea to Salonika, we shall find on the mainland, somewhat to the west of that city, a site marked on the ancient map, with the name of Citium. It was quite natural that those who believed the Cypriote Citium to be Phœnician should claim this second city as being a Phœnician colony. Cyprus itself was not exactly a colony, it was too near the mainland for that; but, being within the area of Phœnician expansion, it had just as much right to send out colonies, as Tyre and Sidon. Nor can it be doubted that the enterprise of the Phœnician trader was sufficient to see the importance of such a situation as occurred in Macedonia at the head of the Thermaic gulf. If, on the other hand, we hold that Phœnicia was anticipated in Cyprus by Hittite settlements, it will be a fair question whether the Macedonian colony should not be described as Hittite rather than Phœnician. Is there any way of settling such an ambiguity? It was interesting to find that our speculation about a Hittite Cyprus was confirmed by Prof. Forrer, who, with Hrozný, is the foremost of the decipherers who are engaged in elucidating the Hittite tablets. He writes to the following effect in the *Proceedings of the German Oriental Society* for March, 1924:—

"um diese Sachlage zu verstehen, müssen wir die Geschichte Kyperns näher betrachten. In der Mitte des 14 Jahrhunderts vor Chr. ist es von Pharao abhängig. In den historischen Boghaz-Köi Inschriften hören wir von Kypern Näheres erst, als es durch den Friedensvertrag den Rameses ii mit Movattallis nach der Schlacht von Kadeš (1290) schloss, von Ägypten an das Ḫatti-Reich abgetreten wurde . . . Kypern gehörte also ohne Zweifel dem Ḫatti-König."

But the priority of Hittite to Phœnician in Cyprus does not carry with it the conclusion that Citium in Macedonia was a Hittite settlement. If the Hittites came first, the Phœnicians came second, and the time of the founding of Citium the second need not be as early as the ancient Hittite Empire. How, then, shall we decide whether the Macedonian town is Hittite or Phœnician? Here is a direction in which we may get a ray of light on the situation.

I premise that the study of place-names, properly handled, is one of the surest ways of writing early history; before writing was invented, the planet on which we live had a Gazetteer: and some of the earliest names that can be assigned to that imagined document will be found persisting, often with very small change, in the latest index that can be made to a collection of maps. All that we need is, that where changes exist, a trained philological instinct should revise any identifications that may be made between ancient and modern. If no change has occurred, the philologian himself may be dispensed with. Now, in the case before us, if we look at a map of modern Macedonia, we shall find that between the position of the ancient Macedonian Citium and that of the modern Salonika there flows a stream, whose name is *Vardar*. Its Greek name was Ἄξιος (Axios). We propose to explain both these names, and to put a meaning (it will be the same for the two names) into each of them.

First of all, then, *Vardar* is, with a microscopic change, the intrusion of the letter *r*, the Hittite word for *water*. They called it *Vadar* or *Vatar*, and the comparison of the word with our own language or with the Old High German (*wattar* for *wasser*) is a part of the demonstration of Hrozný that Hittite (one branch of it) is an Indo-Germanic language. If this be conceded, then we have the Hittites in Macedonia, and Citium, which is only a little way west of the Vardar, is Hittite and not Phœnician. This is sufficiently startling; it involves the persistence of the name Vardar for the river, right down

through the Greek occupation of Macedonia, and the Turkish domination as well. Can that be believed ?[1]

Let us see whether we can get any further light by a study of the Greek name for the river. It is important to remember, in this connection, that when the Greeks annexed a country or a colony, they commonly modified the name of the colony from an unintelligible or half-intelligible alien form into some Greek term which was more agreeable to them and not very remote from the existing appellation. We had an instance of this in a previous study, where the Greeks took over a Hittite settlement in Sicily, and changed its name of Salt-town from Selinous to Parsley-town or Celery-town (Selinos for Selinūs). But how are we to turn *Vardar* into *Axios?* It certainly looks unlikely: but there is a middle term which connects them, which we will now go in search of.

The student of place-names in the British Isles will remember that there is a group of Keltic river names, which are all variants of a single type. There is in Devonshire the Exe and the Axe; in South Wales the Usk; in Yorkshire, in Durham and Cumberland, the Esk; and this name Esk occurs four or five times in various Scottish counties, Dumfries, Forfar, etc. It is simply Keltic for *water*. The Irish form is *Uisce*. We are familiar with the word in the modern *whiskey* whose earlier form is *Usque-baugh, water of life*. *Whiskey*, then,

[1] The Vardar river is described as to its course and efflux by Anna Comnena, the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Alexius II, and it is especially interesting that when she names the river, she says the country-folk call it Vardar:—

> καταλαμβάνει δῆτα τὸν πόταμον Βαρδάριον·
> οὕτω γὰρ ἐγχωρίως αὐτὸν ὀνομάζουσι.
>
> (Anna Comnena: i. 2820).

The change may be microscopic, but if the *r* is original in the word, it will seriously affect the argument which follows. We do not think it is primitive; the case is exactly that which occurs in Western maps and geographies of the present day, where we find areas covered by the word Tartary, and peoples defined as Crim-Tartars and the like. It ought to be written *Tatar* and not *Tartar:* whether the regression of the accent has strengthened the first syllable, and set it rhyming with the last syllable, it is not easy to say. Strictly speaking, the *r* ought not to be there; but it is there; and perhaps the same thing may have happened with the Vardar, where there is also a possible assonance. It is well, however, to be on our guard, and not to stress an etymology which may turn out to be unreal.

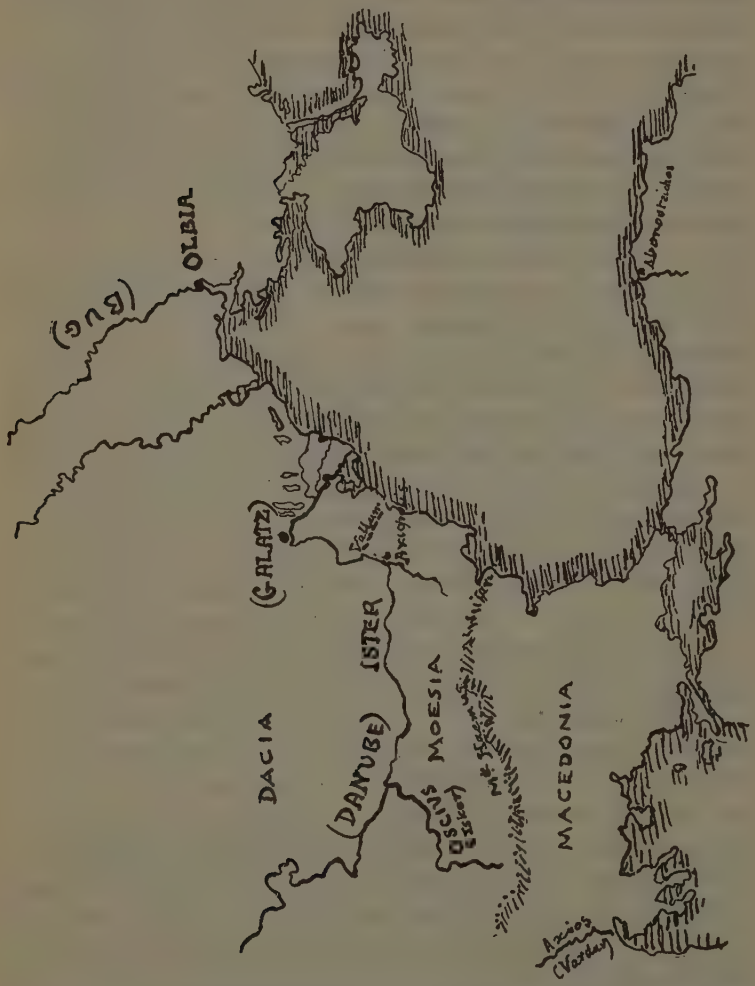
is *water:* the language has become prohibitionist, and turned one term back into the other: (faxit Deus).

Our suggestion, then, is that between the Hittite and the Greek occupations of the head of the Thermaic gulf, there intervened a Keltic migration, which, without changing the meaning of the word for river, changed its form to Usk, Esk, Axe or the like, from which the Greeks immediately developed the form Axios, while sacrificing the meaning. No doubt this sounds incredible, especially to those who have not realised the momentum of the Keltic migration in Eastern Europe and Asia Minor. Happily we can confirm the accuracy of our conjecture by a similar name-transfer elsewhere.

In Northern Bulgaria, the district which used to be called Lower Moesia, there was a tribe who gave trouble to the Romans, and necessitated a military occupation, much in the same way as, in South Wales, old Caer-leon upon Usk betrays the existence of a legionary camp (*leon* = *legion*) for the discipline of the troublesome Kelts thereabouts. The fifth legion (Macedonia) came to be quartered among the Triballi, and had their headquarters on the Danube, at a place called Οἶσκος, where a river of the same name discharged itself into the larger stream. Procopius calls the town *Iskos*, and says it was fortified by Justinian. You can find it on the modern map, by looking for a river somewhat to the west of the historic Plevna, which bears the name of *Isker* or *Esker*. That the town and the river had the same name has a curious parallel in Devonshire, where the *Exe* is *Isca* of Ptolemy, and *Exeter* is *Isca Dumnoniorum*. So also *Caerleon* was originally *Isca* or *Usk*, and to the Romans *Isca Silurum*. Herodotus knows the river, and calls it *Skios*. Thucydides knows it and calls it *Oskios;* Ptolemy knows the town and calls it *Oeskios* (or Οἶσκος Τριβαλλῶν), which is almost exactly *whiskey:* and we need not doubt that we have the Keltic word for *water* before us, that the Triballi are a Keltic migration, and that we have, as suggested above, an exact parallel to Caer-leon upon Usk. But in that case, *Axios* for *Vardar* is only a slight Grecizing of *Oskios* on the Danube.

We shall find another Water town (see next page) if we move down the Danube to the point where the Vallum of Trajan runs across the delta of the great river; here, too, near the inner end of the vallum we have again an Ἀξιούπολις at the point where an

Axios river runs into the Danube, exactly parallel philologically to the forms which we have been considering in Britain and elsewhere. The place-names on the Danube and in Lower Moesia are full of Keltic



reminiscence. Fick notes that the Kelts ruled on the Lower Danube from the fourth century B.C., and remarks that Dekebalos the King of the Dacians has a Keltic name : (*Vorgriechische Ortsnamen*, p. 144). Perhaps they were there even earlier. Herodotus, in fact, calls the

district of Lower Moesia by the name of *Triballic plain*, and we have shown that the Triballi must be reckoned as Kelts.

Now let us leave the Kelts, who appeared unexpectedly in the argument, though there is much more to be said about their tribal movements, and let us see if we can find further traces of Hittite culture in the Mediterranean or elsewhere. Our observations have taught us something fresh about the persistence and reappearance of ancient names, and about the modification of ancient names where one culture is superimposed on another. Instances of this can be found in every age and in every part of the world. For example, in Lower Canada we have a lower culture which, by excessive race propagation, is expelling the English language and exterminating British ideas. One is surprised to find the change in the place-names ; to see, for example, an original Somerset replaced by St. Morisette. Well ! that is the kind of thing which went on when Greek colonisation controlled a prior settlement. The linguistic changes, if slight, are significant. We shall find more cases of the phenomena as we proceed. It will be remembered that we took the Hittites into Libya from the observation of the name χερταῖα on the coast, and we took them into Sicily, by the coincidence of a Hittite Selinous with a Sicilian, and in both cases found a strong suspicion of salt markets. Suppose we now go to the South of France.

To the west of Marseilles, on the ancient coast of Narbonne, we find a modern town which arrests our attention. Its name is *Cette*, and we are obliged to ask if this is in any way related to such forms as the Libyan Chettaea. If the initial letter were hard, we should not hesitate ; we could compare *Kette*, with the Biblical *Kittim*, but this is not the modern sound ; if we could pronounce *Cette* in the Italian manner, and not as a feminine demonstrative pronoun, we should be very near indeed to a Hittite formation. It would be very like the name of the tribe of the Chatti on the Rhine. In their case, however, the phonetic changes produced Hasse and Hesse.[1]

[1] It is interesting to observe the first attempt to connect Hesse with the Chatti. As far as I know, it is suggested in Coryat's *Crudities*, to which my friend Dr. Rutherfurd directs my attention.

Coryat's *Crudities* originally published in 1611 (reprint 1905, Vol. 2, pp. 301-2) :—

" When we were passed Wesel, we came to another Custome Towne, situate on the same bank of the Rhine, which was the fourth.

We must try and find out some more about this mysterious *Cette*, and first of all, we will discuss its location, and make a little map of its surroundings. The first thing we observe is that it is a salt-producing and salt-distributing centre, the greatest salt-factory in southern France. The reason for this lies in the following direction. The southern seaboard of France is marked by a succession of lagoons, often of considerable extent; these lagoons are filled with salt water, often more salt than the Mediterranean itself. The evaporation of these salt waters appears to have been an industry from very early times. A

reference to Baedeker's description of the locality will, along with the attached map, assist our imagination:

"Agde . . . the ancient Agathe, founded by the Massaliots, a town of 7,389 inhabitants, is situated on the Hérault and the Canal du

---

The name of it is St. Gewere (St. Goar), a Protestant towne, and it standeth in that territory whose inhabitants were in former times called Catti, a very warlike people much mentioned by Cornelius Tacitus, and other writers of the Roman Histories; but now it hath the name of Hassia, which is a land-graviat subject to the renowned Prince Maurice the present Landgrave of the country."

On p. 301 we have the following note added:—

"From this word (Catti) cometh Cattinelubogen the ancient name of a Towne in Hassia wherhence the Landgrave deriveth one of his princely titles."

> Midi, 3 m. from the sea, and has a harbour carrying on a brisk trade with Spain and Italy. . . . We next cross the Canal and the Hérault, and pass on the left *the Étang de Thau, a salt-lake* 11 *m. long and* 5-8 *m. wide, on the banks of which are large salt-works.* The Canal du Midi ends here and is prolonged to the sea by the Canal de Cette. . . . Finally . . . we reach Cette . . . an ancient town of 36,540 inhabitants, situated on the Mont St. Clair (590 ft., the Mons Setius of antiquity)."

It is natural that critics and geographers should have assumed a connection between Mons Setius and Cette, in which case the *C* of Cette must be a sibilant, and then any Hittite analogy disappears. If we examine the MS. tradition of the name *Setius* we shall find that it is an academical invention to agree with *Cette*. Thus in Strabo (*Geog.* 4, 1, 5-6) the Loeb Library translates for us as follows :—

> "The gulf is double, for, in the same circuit, Mount Setium (Cap du Cette) with the half of the isle of Blascon, which is situated near by, juts out and thus marks off two gulfs;" to which there is appended the note:
>
> "Σήτιον, Palmer, for Σιγιον; so Corais and the rest."

So it seems that Mons Setius is an emendation. When we turn to Ptolemy, to see if he reads *Setius* or *Sigius*, we find from Müller's note, the forms Σήγιον, Σήιον, Σήιος, Segius, etc., but no Greek authority for Σήτιος nor for Müller's conclusion

Setius Mons: hodie *Cette.*

Having removed that difficulty from the path, we are encouraged to believe that the salt-works may be identified as originally Hittite. It will be admitted that the parallel with the Libyan Chettaea and the salt-trade to the temple of Jupiter Ammon is becoming real. But we can now get a step further. We may sum up the situation of the lagoon as a salt-producing lake in the words of the *Universal Geography* of Reclus :—

> "The lagoon of Thau (Taphrus) between the volcano of Agde and the hills of La Gardiole, is the most important of all, on account of its great depth and the towns which line its shores. This little sea of 18,500 acres is separated from the Mediterranean by a narrow strip of land. . . . Its waters are as salt as those of the sea, except after heavy rains, and near the mouth of some of the rivers which enter it."

Here, then, we have *Agdĕ* and *Cette* connected. Now *Agdĕ* is said to be a colony from Marseilles, and Marseilles is said to be a

Greek colony, of the Phocaeans. Then Agde is said to be a corruption of Agathé, in accordance with Ptolemy's collocation

Ἀγαθὴ πόλις,
Σήγιον ὄρος.

We suggest that the original form of the name is *Agadē* which has been Grecized into *Agathē*, but preserves its archaic form, very nearly in the modern *Agdē*. Now Agadē may very well be a Hittite name, for it is the name of the city which Sargon I built or rebuilt to rival Babylon. The traces of the interpenetration of Mesopotamia by the Hittites are increasing with our knowledge of the documents.[1]

But what then of Marseilles, which is said to be the mother-city of Agdē. The answer is that Marseilles is not a Greek city, nor a Phoenician settlement in the first instance. It bears the name of Mursil, a Hittite king of great eminence. We have in fact two or three kings of the name already identified, waging war and making treaties with other Eastern kings, of Egypt, or Babylonia, or lesser states. Hrozný has given a table of the Hittite kings in Heft 5 of *Boghaz-keui Studien;* from which it appears that the first Mursil comes soon after 1500 B.C., and the second somewhere about 1300 B.C., in either case long before the Greek period. We notice again how the modern and popular name of *Marseilles* conserves the original *r* which was assimilated by the Greeks, just as *Agde* does the original *d*. We conclude that we have three landmarks of Hittite colonisation in *Marseilles*, *Agdē* and *Cette;* and that, in the case of the last two, the salt-trade is phenomenally in evidence.

Since, however, we are talking of salt-works and the salt-trade, we cannot neglect the salt-town which of all others appears to be a genuine Greek colony, viz., *Olbia* on the Black Sea. To this day there is a great traffic in salt from this region. For instance in Demidoff's *Travels in South Russia*, p. 139, we are told that "Perekop is a

[1] The Babylonian Chronicle concludes the first dynasty of Babylon (2225-1926 B.C.) with the words:

"In the time of Shamash-Ditana the Hittites marched against the Land of *Akkadi*."

Agde is evidently only a variant for Akkade. Agdē is attested as a variant for Akkadē by the geographical name Agdanitis given to the district on the Persian shore opposite to Ormuz; this appears to be the only trace left, in classical times, of the ancient Akkad. A friend also advises me that Asia Minor supplies a goddess whose name is Agdistes.

central customs-station where an active regulative influence is exerted on the immense exportation of salt from the neighbouring seas and lakes."

In prehistoric times Olbia was the terminus of the Sacred Way which runs from Dantzig southward, and was, as I have shown in my essay on *Apollo at the Back of the North Wind*,[1] an amber route at the one end and a salt-way at the other. Coins of Olbia have, in fact, been found nearly as far north as Dantzig itself; and, if further confirmation were required that the route was the Sacred Way of Apollo, we might point to the recent discovery of the Temple of Apollo in the ruins of Olbia. Taken with the known historical traditions as to the founding of the city by the Ionian Greeks, and the evident meaning of the name, as the Greek word for 'fortunate' or 'prosperous,' it may well be said that Olbia on the Black Sea is the most certain example of a Greek colony.

But now let us turn back to the French coast. A little to the east of Marseilles the ancient geographers have located another Olbia. It occupies nearly the position of the modern Hyères, and not far off on the modern map is a lagoon called *Les Salines*. Is that a Greek colony, or another Hittite salt works? Then if we cross over to Sardinia we shall find that one of the oldest sites is again Olbia, the modern Italian name being *Terra Nova*. Is that a true Greek colony? It will be interesting to enquire, because Sardinia appears to have been thickly populated in the Bronze Age, while in historic times the Phœnicians and the Greeks are both claimed as original settlers. Pausanias says that the island was colonised by Thespians and Athenians under Iolaus, and it is generally allowed that Olbia in the north of Sardinia and Neapolis on the west coast must be regarded as Greek colonies. We can hardly avoid asking whether there are any salt-works in the island, either now or in ancient times.

Suppose we turn to Tennant, *Sardinia and its Resources*, p. 125; we shall find as follows, after an intimation that one of the greatest of Sardinian industries is salt, that

> "The manufacture of salt is not strictly a Government monopoly, but Government owns the works and reservoirs at Cagliari and Carlo Forte, *where alone it is manufactured and which are the only establishments of the kind in the island.* The process is very simple

[1] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xlv. 1925.

> and inexpensive, viz.: evaporation of sea-water by the atmosphere; in Cagliari it is pumped into reservoirs, which are very extensive and cover an area of above 500 acres."

It is unfortunate, at first sight, that both of these great salt-works are in the south of the island, and as far away from the site of Olbia as it is possible to be; moreover, we are told expressly that *no salt is produced anywhere else*, which rules out *Terra Nova*, at all events from the industries of to-day. But let us try another traveller's report. We will turn to Tyndale, *Travels in Sardinia*, ii. p. 13. Here we find as follows in a description of *Terra Nova:*

> "Some salt-marshes to the north and north-west of the town formerly gave a profitable return, but the mountain-streams having been allowed to flow into them, and no care being taken to drain them, or the plain, scarcely any salt is obtained."

Evidently, then, there was once a salt-industry at Terra Nova, and it is, therefore, quite probable that like the French Olbia, its Greek origin may be queried.

Before leaving Sardinia, it should be noted that the actual manufacture of salt in the island is attested for a period of about 150 B.C., by an inscription, which is written in Latin, Greek and Punic, thus bearing witness to three types of colonists. The inscription is in honour of a certain Cleon (who should be a Greek) who is described as a Salar(ius) soc(iorum) s(ervus). It will be found in the *Corpus Inscr. Lat.*, x. 785-6.

Our scepticism takes on a more positive form, when we find cities bearing a name closely allied to Olbia in the heart of Asia Minor, and where the idea of Greek colonisation may be reduced to very small proportions. This new point of view must be carefully examined; for if we find anything like Olbia in Hittite areas, it will be very hard to maintain that Olbia on the Black Sea is other than an original colony or trading centre of the Hittites.

Coming now to Asia Minor, we find a series of towns with such names as Olbe, Olba, Olbasa, as well as Olbia in Bithynia, another at the most westerly point of the coast of Pamphylia, while Stephanus of Byzantium adds an Olbia in Cilicia, which is probably only a variant of Olbasa or Olbe. It will be difficult to reduce all of these to a single type of Greek colony. Olbasa is also found in Lycaonia, and in the northern part of Pisidia. Clearly Olbasa is not a Greek Colony; it must be genuine Anatolian.

But there is more to be said which affects the most famous of all the Olbias. There is a *Periplus* of the Euxine Sea, which, when it comes to Olbia, writes the name as *Olbia Sabia*. Mr. Minns, in his *Scythians and Greeks* says that this is "mere dittography," meaning that the three letters *bia* have been accidently repeated from *Olbia* by the copyist. This is very good as far as it goes, but does not explain the added syllable *sa*. It looks as if this belonged to an original *Olbiasa*, which is very near to the Asiatic form. In that case Olbia would not be an original Greek colony at all.

So far as Cilicia is concerned, we are certainly in the heart of the Hittite empire, and we may safely claim that the Cilician *Olbe* or *Olbasa* is Hittite, in which case the Greeks may finally step aside. We could then state a case and stake out a claim for recognising all the Mediterranean and Euxine *Olbias* as original Hittite colonies. We do not know the meaning of the term, for the Hittite language is still in its infancy, and it would be useless to make premature guesses.

Let us now return to our observations on early Keltic migration. We have found the Keltic Usk on the Danube at Oeskos, and located the Triballi as a Keltic tribe to the west of the river, we can go further down the great river, and, as we intimated above, find another Usk running into it. When we came near to the mouth of the Danube where the vallum of Trajan runs across its delta, we found a town named Axioupolis (the modern Rassova). We note the genitive formation, and we compare it with the town at the other end of the vallum, named Istropolis, which stood where was once one of the Danube mouths. Axioupolis is, then, the town on the Axios river, just as Istropolis is the town at the Danube mouth. We have now found three Usks, two of them having, like Isca (Exeter) and Usk (Caerleon), settlements of Kelts at their mouths. The result is important: the dominance of the Kelts in the Balkan peninsula was more extended than has been generally imagined. And having proved so much, we shall have to prove more. For instance, Galatz in Roumania will put in a claim for a Keltic origin along with Galata on the Bosporus. It will be seen that we are raising interesting questions in topography and colonisation, extending over very many centuries. It is the persistence of names through occupation by various races that has been the key that we have employed on the closed doors of the past.

We may linger a little over this corner of research: the Keltic scholars will require it of us. They will say that the persistence of the name for *water* to describe the rivers in the British Isles is obvious, and it may be conceded that similar cases could occur in the Balkans; but can you find any cases of the recurrence of the name *Avon* for *river* in the East, as we find it in Great Britain? We will try.[1]

At first sight the quest does not yield any results: the name *Avon* or *Afon* does not lend itself readily to Greek manipulation. But, as we are working on very early material, we must assume, on the hypothesis of transference, a digamma in the word, when it is translated into Greek, and this digamma will behave as digammas commonly do, it will become obsolete, though traces of it may remain in the conservatism of popular speech. The form we want is Ἄϝον or Ἄϝων. It is quite possible that we have here the original form of the Greek river Ἄωος. Of this river Strabo has some interesting information to give us. It is the principal river in Illyria (Epirus) and the ancients were struck by the fact that from the very same gorge on Mt. Lachmon, two rivers descended, one, the Inachus, going south to Argos, the other running west to the Adriatic. The name of this river is Ἄωος but it has an alternative name, of which more presently. First, let us ask what is its modern name? It occurs in two or three closely related forms, Viosa, Vuissa, Vovussa. Here we have the digamma reappearing. It was never really lost, it had but gone underground. The form *Vovussa* has it twice over, so we need not hesitate to write the Greek name (whether Ἄωος, Ἀᾶος or Ἀᾴρος) as Avōs, which will be the nominative to the Keltic Avon. It is interesting to note that though the digamma did not continue and probably soon disappeared, when the Avon became a Greek river, it was maintained when the Kelts invaded Asia Minor. There is a town on the Black Sea, to the west of Sinope, known to scholars as the birthplace of the magician Alexander of Abōnouteichos, of whom Lucian discourses; the form of the name implies a walled town on the river Abōnos, just as Axioupolis was a town on the Axios. Here the form Avon is almost exactly preserved, nor have we any

[1] Is it possible, by the way, that Oxford is also a case in point, and that it represents an original *Usk-ford* or *Water-ford*? Uxbridge, near London, appears to be a parallel formation.

difficulty in locating a Keltic settlement there; the river is adjacent, and the town itself is only a little north of the province of Galatia, where the Kelts were finally insulated.[1]

And now for the question of the alternative name of the Illyrian or Epirote Avon. We have had already an interesting case in Vardar-Usk-Axios. Let us see what Strabo says on the matter. He tells us that Hecatæus has another name for it, and calls it Αἴας (Ajax). It will be remembered that, when we were discussing the town Olbe in Cilicia, as a Hittite settlement, Strabo told us that this town was founded by Αἴας, the son of Teucer. In another passage he says that the ruling dynasty at Olbe in his day was named after Teucer, and that the high priests of the shrine of Zeus were called either Teucers or Ajaxes. Is it not likely then that the proper names before us are Hittite names, and that we have come across a trace of Hittite migration in Epirus just as we did in Macedonia, the migration in question having its successors in the form of (i) Keltic, (ii) Greek occupations?

It does not seem to us at all unlikely that the Hittites whom we detected in Libya, on the French coast, and on the Black Sea, should have made expeditions up the Adriatic. Here is a slight indication that they actually did so. Higher up the Adriatic there existed, until lately, the little principality of Montenegro, the frontier fortress of Christendom against the Turk, little Montenegro which Tennyson rightly called 'Great Tchernagora.' Its capital is *Cettinje* and this capital is connected by a good road with *Cattaro*, just inland from the little port which the Italians call Bocche di Cattaro. It is not unreasonable to suggest that we have in these names survivals of an early Hittite colonisation of Montenegro.

Our investigations in the foregoing pages have turned largely upon the practice of the Greeks in the adaptation of the forms of place-names given by previous migrating peoples to their own language and its

[1] In Lucian's day there were not many, either of Kelts or Syrians in Abonoteichos. His impostor-enemy used to get inquiries at his supposed oracle from all kinds of barbarians; when a Kelt made enquiry, the reply was deferred until Alexander could find some one acquainted with the language, after which the oracle, deficient in linguistics, resumed action. It was still possible in the second century in Paphlagonia to have a Kelt appealing to an oracle and a Kelt responding.

dialects. This is why we find, for instance, traces of Greek nomenclature among the people of Troy. It has been a standing perplexity why Paris should have a double name, and why he should be called by such a potent Greek vocable as Alexander. But the Hittite tablets tell the story. There was a king of Arzawa, i.e. of Cilicia, whose name was *Alekšandu:* whatever it means, it is good Anatolian, and almost certainly Hittite. When he passes into the Greek field of view, he will, almost automatically, become *Alexander*. The sense is changed, but the appellation, practically, continues.

We shall have noted, in the course of our enquiry, both in the East and West, the tendency to name towns in terms of the rivers on which they stand. Such cases as Newcastle-on-Tyne, Barton-on-Humber, Carrick-on-Suir, Exeter, Axminster, Stratford-on-Avon, Bradford-on-Avon, occur at once to the mind; in some cases the river may be added for the purpose of distinguishing towns of the same name; but this does not exhaust the matter, for the most part the river has precedence; and as we have seen, the Greeks expressed the same thing by the addition of πόλις, τεῖχος or the like to the river-name; and the Kelts gave the river-name to the city just as they had done in the British Isles. There is room for further study of the facts which have come to light in the course of this investigation.

We come now to a curious complication in the evidence for the migration of peoples from the Eastern end of the Mediterranean to the Western. It will be noticed that in trying to establish a Hittite migration into Southern Gaul, and claiming a number of places, including Marseilles itself, as belonging to that migration, we have run the risk of claiming situations which have, on other grounds, been affirmed to be Cretan settlements: and although there is no improbability in the assumption that the Phocaeans were preceded in Marseilles by an earlier migration, occurring centuries before there were any Greeks to migrate, it is quite another matter to assign a colony to each of a pair of contemporary empires, like the Cretans and the Hittites. It was pointed out, for example, by Fick that Crete had its own Massilia, a river indeed, but not necessarily limited to a river-name. Moreover we had ourselves, some years since, under the heading "A Cretan Settlement in the Rhône Valley," claimed the important centre Vienna as a Cretan colony.[1] How can Marseilles be Hittite, if both

[1] See *Expository Times* for 1909-10.

Marseilles and Vienne are to be reckoned to the Cretan Empire of the same period?

Suppose we ask ourselves what is known with regard to the earliest migrations into Crete. It will be found that the principal and perhaps the only evidence on the subject is in a passage in the *Odyssey*, where Odysseus, not yet recognised by Penelope, is addressing to his wife a long fictitious story about his recent adventures in Crete. He describes the island in flattering terms, both as regards the soil and the inhabitants; there are many languages current, and no less than ninety cities, in which are to be found Pelasgians, Dorians and Achæans, Eteokretans and Kydones. It is evident that these represent colonisations of various periods, the Dorians being the latest, and not long anterior to the *Odyssey* itself. Nearly coincident in time with them will be the Achæans. Of the others it is commonly allowed that the Eteokretans have the priority, if their name is rightly explained as the 'genuine Cretans,' the autochthones. That is all that Odysseus can tell us on the subject. Can any one tell us anything further? Strabo has two or three references to the Eteokretans, but an examination of the passages shows that he has the *Odyssey* for his text every time,[1] unless it should be an allusion to Praisos as having been originally a settlement of the Eteokretans. Nor does it seem that anyone has a further source of information. We are certainly obliged to ask more from the writer of the *Odyssey* than his commentators up to the present have persuaded him to tell.

Suppose now we take the Homeric language, and ask if it is likely that Eteokretans is an actual appellation of a people. The name has an uncanny appearance. Can it be a Greek substitute for some earlier title which has lost its meaning by the time when the *Odyssey* was composed? Suppose instead of Ἐτεο- we write χεττaιο-; we have then a Hittite population designated as the first colonists in Crete; with this supposition any possible confusion between Cretan and Hittite migrations in Gaul or elsewhere will disappear. They are the same thing, in the long ago before the Dorians came.

The objection would be that we find a similar formation in the case of the aborigines of the island Carpathus, lying between Crete

[1] For instance Strabo (p. 175) says, "it seems likely that the Eteokretans and the Kydones are the autochtonous part of the population, and the others are immigrants." That is merely commentary on Homer.

and Rhodes. The Eteokarpathians are clearly distinguished from the Carpathians in inscriptions and have a communal government of their own. Will the same explanation cover the two cases of Eastern Crete and the adjacent Carpathus? the migrant tribes appear to be similar, but the explanation is somewhat hazardous.

Closer examination, however, shows that we are right in assuming that the prefix ἑτεο- does not mean 'authentic' or 'aboriginal' or 'archaic,' but that it covers the name *Hittite*. In the first place we notice that, as in the case of Adramyttium, the rough breathing has to be restored. Next we gather from Stephanus of Byzantium and elsewhere, that at the east end of Crete, where the Eteo-Cretans are supposed to have their headquarters, is a town, whose name is Ἡτέα; this, again, must be a Hittite settlement like Χέτται in Libya. So the common explanation of Eteo-Cretans and Eteo-Carpathians may be abandoned. Both of the islands in question were Hittite colonies, and the migration appears to have been from the mainland of Asia Minor.

Now let us, like good musical artists, return to our keynote, which was, practically, the discovery of a town on the Libyan coast, which preserved a Hittite name long after the Hittite empire had passed out of remembrance. Our conjecture was that the Hittites were on that coast to develop and control the salt caravans which connected the coast with the oasis of Siwah and the temple of Jupiter Ammon. Now for an interesting confirmation of the correctness of this view. When Herodotus was making his studies into African life and history, with special attention to that problem of the ages, the cause of the inundation of the Nile, he got into conversation with some people of Cyrene, who told him of an expedition made from their city to the shrine of Jupiter Ammon, where they talked with the ruler of the country, and amongst other things discoursed on the sources of the Nile. The name of the ruler was *Etearchus*. Bearing in mind what we have already discovered about Eteocretans and Eteocarpathians, we see that Etearchus (who should have the aspiration restored to his name), is merely a Hittite ruler, now a proper name with Greek adaptation, but originally the Hittite governor of the oasis. We will write his name *Hetæarchus*, and place it with the other Hittite formations, from the Biblical Heth, and the Egyptian Kheta down to the Cretan Hetæa and beyond. In this way we have unexpectedly found

the confirmation of our conjecture as to the link between the Hittite settlers in North Africa and the salt deposits of the oasis of Siwah.

This leads to another curious and interesting confirmation as to the correctness of our procedure. It will be remembered that we came across a peculiar mutual interpenetration of ancient civilisation according to which settlements of one nationality were found within the frontiers of another. In reality we are before the time of the fixing of frontiers; so that Hittite settlements could occur in Assyria, or in Palestine. The latter is peculiarly interesting because Palestine is almost a No-man's Land for settlers; witness the occupation of Hebron by the Hittites in Abraham's day, and the occurrence of a not-far-distant town to its N.W., which bears the name of Mareshah, and has surely been settled from the great Hittite centre of Marash. Sufficient attention has not been paid to the existence of these colonial settlements, in Egypt, in Syria, or in Greece.

When Justin Martyr presented his *Apology* for the Christian religion to the Roman Senate, he had something to say to them about the propriety of suppressing Gnostic cults, which were invading Rome from the villages of Samaria, to which province he himself belonged. He was very irate with Simon Magus, for example, whom he confused with the Sabine deity Semo Sancus, and almost as angry with his disciple Menander. They had been set on by the foul demons, and Menander had gone to Antioch to work mischief in the same way as Simon, the great magician, had come to Rome. This Menander, says Justin, with a pardonable touch of local geography which was quite unnecessary for the illumination of the Roman Senate, came from the village of Capparatæa (ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης Καππαρεταίας, Justin, *Apol.*, i. 26). Eusebius, who picks up Justin's account of Menander, and repeats it, spells the name of the village Καπαραταῖα.

Now even an amateur in Biblical and Semitic lore knows that the word for village, or a small town which was once a village, is *Kaphar*, as in the town on the lake of Galilee which we call *Capernaum*. In that case to call a place κώμη καππαρεταῖα is a pleonasm, and it may be at once reduced to κώμη ἑταῖα. But this is our old friend whom Ptolemy introduced to us as χετταῖα—κώμη. Menander, then, came from a Samaritan village which still carried a Hittite name; and, in view of the persistence of population in Oriental villages, it is even lawful to conjecture that Menander himself may be a Hittite survival.

Certainly the town from which he came must be an archaic Hittite settlement, and our Libyan conjecture is confirmed by the discovery.

We can even make the contact with the Hittites somewhat closer; a reference to Reland, *Palestina*, s.v. Capharchittæa, will show that the Talmudists substituted this form for a place-name in *Joshua*, 19^{35}; and Neubauer in his *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 207, remarks on the name in question that the Talmud of Jerusalem (*Megillah*, i. 1) gives the name in the form *Kefar Ḥaṭṭya* or *Ḥitya*.[1] Wherever the village in question was located (and we can hardly have a better local guide than Justin), the coincidence with Ptolemy is undeniable.

[1] The passage is wrongly translated by Schwab, and wrongly punctuated in the printed text.

SYRIAC INFLUENCE ON THE STYLE OF THE ḲUR'ĀN.

By A. MINGANA, D.D.

THE time has surely come to subject the text of the Ḳur'ān to the same criticism as that to which we subject the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Jewish Bible, and the Greek of the Christian Scriptures. Apart from some stray comparative remarks by a few eminent scholars, the only comprehensively critical work on the subject is still that of Nöldeke, printed in 1860. It is to be regretted that in the new edition of Nöldeke's classical work undertaken by Schwally and Bergsträsser—which contains most useful references to an astounding number of Arabic printed books and MSS.—the editors have not seen fit to multiply the critical and comparative remarks on the sacred text itself. Much useful information can also be gathered from another classical study of Nöldeke : the *Neue Beiträge.*

A very recent study on the historical narratives of the Ḳur'ān has lately been written by J. Horovitz.[1] The section dealing with proper names (pp. 85-155) is full of erudition, but I think that in some places he has built too much on the Muslim tradition and on the so-called pre-Islamic or early Arabian poetry. Setting aside as irrelevant the South Arabian and other inscriptions—I believe that we have not a single Arabic page on which we can lay our hands with safety and say that it is pre-Islamic, and I hold with Margoliouth[2] that all the edifice of pre-Islamic poetry is shaky and unstable, and that the Ḳur'ān is the first genuine Arabic book that we possess. It is in place here to repeat what I wrote on this subject in 1920 :[3]

"Before the seventh century we are not in a position to know how the Arabic poetry was constituted. The numerous poetical

[1] *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 1926.
[2] *The Origins of Arabic Poetry in J.R.A.S.*, 1925, 415-449.
[3] *Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, ii. 125.

compositions known as "early Arabian poetry," and represented chiefly by the well-known *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, *Mu'allaḳāt*, *Ḥamāsah* and *Jamharah* are enveloped in a thick mist of prehistoricity and spuriousness, and in the present state of our knowledge we may assert that till fuller light dawns they can hardly stand in the domain of a positive study."

As we believe the Ḳur'ān to be the first Arabic book,[1] its author had to contend with immense difficulties. He had to adapt new words and new expressions to fresh ideas, in a language that was not yet fixed by any grammar or lexicography. The risk of not being understood did probably deter him from coining many new words. The best policy was to use for his new idea of Islam the words which were understood by his hearers and found in a language akin to his that had become an ecclesiastical and religious language centuries before his birth and the adherents of which were surrounding him in all directions in highly organised communities, bishoprics and monasteries. This is the reason why the style of the Ḳur'ān is so unlike that of any other classical Arabic book.

In this respect the author of the Ḳur'ān has certainly much merit and originality, and his linguistic difficulties were much more formidable that those experienced for instance by Paul and by the first Christian evangelists who had to express their new ideas in the language of Homer. The language of Homer had a fine literature behind it, the language of the Ḳur'ān had not. As the first Christian writers have left in their lucubrations stylistic peculiarities which clearly point to their country of origin, which was not the old Athens but the Syrian Hellenistic Palestine, so the author of the Ḳur'ān has exhibited stylistic idiosyncrasies which stamp his work as being somewhat different from the classical Arabic known to us from the eighth century downwards; his style suffers from the disabilities that always characterise a first attempt in a new literary language which is under the influence of an older and more fixed literature. This older and more fixed literature is, in our judgment, undoubtedly Syriac more than any other.

Among modern scholars who have treated of the question of the foreign words found in the Ḳur'ān mention should here be made of

[1] The Ḳur'ān itself testifies to this with emphasis in xlvi. 8; lxviii. 37; lii. 41; lxii. 2; xxxiv. 43; xxxv. 38; xxxvii. 156.

Fraenkel, *De Vocabulis in ant. Arab. carm. et in Corano peregrinis*, 1880, and Dvorāk, *Ueber die Fremdwörter im Korân*, in the publications of the Vienna Academy, Bd. 109, 1885. If I do not refer more often to these two scholars it is simply because I am loath to multiply footnotes without great necessity, but it is hardly necessary to state that I do not always consider all their conclusions as irrefragable ; this applies more specially to the second work. Some good information may also be gathered here and there from A. Siddiḳi's *Studien über die Persischen Fremdwörter im Klass. Arabisch*, 1919.

So far as the 'Muslim authors are concerned the number of those who treated of stray Ḳur'ānic words of foreign origin is indeed considerable, and there is no need to mention them here by name. Among those who attempted to collect such words in a more or less systematic way we will refer to the short poetical pieces of Tāj ud-Dīn b. Subki and abul-Faḍl b. Ḥajar. Both of them, however, have been easily eclipsed by Jalāl ad-Dīn Suyūṭi—the best Ḳur'ānic critic of Islam—who devoted to the subject a special chapter of his well-known *Itḳān*,[1] and wrote on it a short and precise treatise entitled *Mutawakkili*.[2] We must remark, however, that the very restricted knowledge which all the Muslim authors had of the other Semitic languages besides Arabic often renders their conclusions very unreliable and misleading, and the critic should use great caution in handling their books, which at best are only good as historical preambles to the subject under consideration.

I am convinced that a thorough study of the text of the Ḳur'ān independently of Muslim commentators would yield a great harvest of fresh information. The only qualifications needed is that the critic should be armed with a good knowledge of Syriac, Hebrew, and Ethiopic. In my opinion, however, Syriac is much more useful than Hebrew and Ethiopic as the former language seems to have a much more pronounced influence on the style of the Ḳur'ān. The only Hebrew textual influence I was able to discover bore on the Biblical Hebraisms already found in the Syriac Peshiṭta. We are also apt to exaggerate in our Ḳur'ānic studies the legendary Biblical element that emanates from Jewish folk-lore beliefs, and to overlook the fact

[1] Pages 314-327 of the Calcutta edition of 1856.
[2] Edited in 1924 by W. Y. Bell in the Nile Mission Press.

that these legends were already found in scores of apocryphal books circulating among the members of the Syrian Churches of South Syria and Arabia. In this connection we may state with some confidence that taking the number 100 as a unit of the foreign influences on the style and terminology of the Ḳur'ān Ethiopic would represent about 5 per cent. of the total, Hebrew about 10 per cent., the Græco-Roman languages about 10 per cent., Persian about 5 per cent., and Syriac (including Aramaic and Palestinian Syriac) about 70 per cent.

In the following pages we propose to discuss very briefly a *first* list of words bearing on some aspects of this Syriac influence on the linguistic peculiarities of the Ḳur'ān. The list ought to be carefully examined, because if its points are established they will modify to a large extent our Ḳur'ānic conclusions which are mainly derived from Muslim writers the best of whom flourished some two hundred years after the events.

The Syriac influence on the phraseology of the Ḳur'ān may be considered under six distinct headings : (*a*) proper names, (*b*) religious terms, (*c*) common words, (*d*) orthography, (*e*) construction of sentences, (*f*) foreign historical references.

For the sake of conciseness and in order to save our limited space we shall not add any critical remarks to the words which to us seemed to be self-evident and clear even to the non-expert eye.[1] We propose to deal with the logical conclusions to be drawn from the present pages at the end of the second list of words which we will publish in the near future.

So far as the etymology of the common words is concerned it is of course always difficult to decide with tolerable certainty whether a given Arabic word used in the Ḳur'ān is derived directly from the Syriac, Hebrew, or Ethiopic languages or not derived from any of them at all. There are thousands of concrete lexicographical words that are identical in all the Semitic languages, and no responsible scholar will ever contend that any of them is derived from this or that Semitic language. This applies especially to *primitive* vocables such as "head," "hand," etc., etc. Such words belong to the common Semitic stock found in *all* the Semitic languages. For the words

[1] We can, however, assure the benevolent reader that no Ḳur'ānic word has been asserted as derived from Syriac, Hebrew, Ethiopic, Greek, Latin or Persian except after deep thought and consideration.

that are not primitive and common to all the Semitic languages but found in *some* of them only, to the exclusion of others, I have found the following considerations worthy of attention :

(*a*) With all words, whether concrete or abstract, we must consider 1° the grammatical and lexicographical genius of this or that Semitic language and see how the Ḳur'ānic words fit in with it ; and 2° the nearest form presented by the Ḳur'ānic words as compared with the corresponding words found in this or that Semitic language.

(*b*) With exclusively concrete words we must consider the history, and the geography and topography of the land, of this or that Semitic people, and examine the extent to which the Ḳur'ānic words fall in harmony with them.

(*c*) With exclusively abstract words we must consider which of the Semitic nations first acquired literary civilisation, and which of them by force of circumstances or by its proximity to the Ḥijāz was more likely to exercise a direct influence on its language in this or that special branch of literature.

For a general view of the mutual relations that bind all the Semitic languages together the following works need no special recommendation from me : Wright's *Comparative Gram. of the Sem. Lang.*, Brockelmann's *Grundriss*, Zimmern's *Verg. Gram. d. Sem. Sprachen*, and the well-known works of Nöldeke on the subject.

I.

Proper Names.

The proper names of Biblical personages found in the Ḳur'ān are used in their Syriac form. Such names include those of Solomon, Pharaoh, Isaac, Ishmael, Israel, Jacob, Noah, Zachariah, and Mary. The other Biblical names used in the Jewish sacred Books have the same spelling in Syriac and in Hebrew. The following names need some explanation.

SOLOMON and PHARAOH. The Hebrew names are שלמה and פרעה with a final *hé* and for Solomon with two vowels *ō* ; so the Arabic سليمن and فرعون (with a final *nūn*) of the Ḳur'ān could only have emanated from the Syriac forms of the two names ܫܠܡܘܗ and ܦܪܥܘܢ. (The Ethiopic form of the last name has the vowel *i* under the *pé*.) The penultimate *aliph* of the modern pronunciation

Sulaimān is a later addition of the scribes. We must here remark that the penultimate *wāw* of the Syriac name is also missing in many ancient books, and the name appears as سلمن in MSS. written before the time of Muḥammad. See the Brit. Mus. Syr. MS. Add., 14, 602 ff., 82[a] and 84[b].[1] The MS. itself is of the end of the sixth or at the latest of the beginning of the seventh Christian century.

ISAAC. Here also the Arabic اسحق is without doubt derived from the Syriac ܐܣܚܩ and not from the Hebrew יִצְחָק or יִשְׂחָק (with a *yodh*).[2]

ISHMAEL and ISRAEL. The same remark applies to Ishmael and Israel. Their Ḳur'ānic equivalents اسمعيل and اسرائيل (with or without *hamzah*) are exactly the Syriac ܐܫܡܥܝܠ and ܐܣܪܝܠ or ܐܣܪܐܝܠ and not the Hebrew יִשְׁמָעֵאל and יִשְׂרָאֵל. For references to some Arabic inscriptions bearing on the name "Ishmael," see Horovitz, *Koranische*, p. 92, and Hartmann's *Arabische Frage*, pp. 182, 252 *sqq.*

JACOB. To a certain extent the form of the name of Jacob is also more Syriac than Hebrew: يعقوب = ܝܥܩܘܒ, but in Hebrew יַעֲקֹב with a short *patah* for the *'é* and without a long vowel. The name occurs five times only in the Hebrew Massoretic text with the long vowel and a quiescent *'é* as in Arabic and Syriac, and it is very probable that they represent a more modern pronunciation of the name.

NOAH. The Hebrew נֹחַ is somewhat remote and the Arabic نوح is exactly the Syriac and the Ethiopic ኖኅ.

ZACHARIAH. Here also the Arabic زكريا is the Syriac ܙܟܪܝܐ with an *alaph* and not its Hebrew form with a *hé*, or the Ethiopic *Zakarias* (taken from the Greek).

MARY. Note the difference in the first vowel of the word; Arabic and Syriac *Mar* but the Massoretic text *Mir*. It should be observed, however, that according to the Massorah to the Targum of Onkelos[3] on Exod. xv. 20, *Maryam* was also the Targumic pronunciation. In Ethiopic both syllables are long; *Māryām*.

There is not a single Biblical name with an exclusively Hebrew

[1] Pp. 709 and 714 in Wright's catalogue. On the gods *Shalman* and *Solomon* see Clay, *The Empire of Amorites*, pp. 91, 156, and Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, p. 295.

[2] See Fraenkel, *Z.A.*, xv., 394.

[3] Edit. Berliner, 1875.

pronunciation in the whole of the Ḳur'ān. So far as the names *Ishmael*, *Israel*, and *Isaac* are concerned we may remark that their deviation from the Hebrew pronunciation is all the more remarkable because in them the author (or the editor of the Ḳur'ān) is running counter to the genius of the Arabic and Hebrew languages to follow that of Syriac. It is well known that the letter of the 3rd pers. sing. of the aorist is both in Hebrew and Arabic a *yōdh* which in Hebrew precedes the above proper names, and it would have been much more natural that their Arabic form should have been for instance *Yasma'il*, and *Yasḥaḳ* with a *yā'* than *'Ismā'īl* and *'Isḥāḳ* with an *aliph*,—forms which have been used by the Syrians in order to retain as much as possible the original pronunciation of the Hebrews, inasmuch as the letter of the 3rd pers. sing. of the aorist is in their language a *nūn* and not a *yodh* as in Arabic and Hebrew.

Another very remarkable fact emerging from all the above words is their pronunciation. I am at present engaged in the study of the early history of Christianity in Arabia as a sequel to my *Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia*, and *Early Spread of Christianity in India*, published in 1925 and 1926 respectively. From that study it will be seen that the majority of the Christians round about Ḥijāz and South Syria belonged to the Jacobite community and not to that of the Nestorians. This was the state of affairs even in the middle of the ninth Christian century in which a well-informed Muslim apologist, 'Ali b. Rabban aṭ-Ṭabari, was able to write: "What (Christians) are found among the Arabs except a sprinkling of Jacobites and Melchites." [1]

Now the pronunciation used in the Arabic proper names mentioned above is that of the Nestorians and not that of the Jacobites. The latter say *ishmō'īl*, *isrōīl*, and *Isḥōḳ*, etc., and not *Ishmā'īl*, *Isrā'il*, and *Isḥāḳ*, as they appear in the Ḳur'ān.

The Graeco-Roman world is seemingly represented by two names only: that of the prophet Jonas who figures as *yūnus*, and that of the prophet Elijah whose name is written *Ilyās*, and once as *Ilyāsīn* (*sic*) for the sake of the rhyme (xxxvii. 130). It is highly probable, however, that these two names were borne by Christian Syrians and that they were taken direct from them; indeed many men of the Jacobite,

[1] *Kitāb ad-Din wad-Daulah*, p. 157 of my translation.

Nestorian, Melchite, and Maronite Syrians had from the third Christian century names either completely Greek or with a pronounced Greek termination only. The number of such men literally amounts to thousands. As an illustration of the final *sīn* we may remark here that many Syrians were called *Yoḥannis* for *Yoḥanna*, John, *Mattaeus* for *Mattai*, Matthew, *Thomas* for *Thoma*, Thomas, etc.

That the view we have here exposed is the only right one is borne out by the fact that in Palestinian Syriac the form of the two names is *Ilyās*[1] and *Yūnus*,[2] as in the Ḳur'ān. In Ethiopic both names appear also as *Ilyās* and *Yūnus*, but from the Syriac vocable (dhu-n) *nūn*, "(he of the) fish," by which the Ḳur'ān names Jonah (xxi., 87), it is more probable to suppose that he got his name also from the Syrians.

By applying the Syriac method of proper names we will be able to throw light on some strange forms of names used in the Ḳur'ān. To express "John" the Ḳur'ān of our days has the strange form *Yaḥya*. I believe, with Margoliouth,[3] that the name is almost certainly the Syriac *Yoḥannan*. In the early and undotted Ḳur'āns the word stood as يحى which could be read *Yoḥanna*, *Yoḥannan*, or *Yaḥya*, and the Muslim ḳurrā' who knew no other language besides Arabic adopted the erroneous form *Yaḥya*. I am absolutely unable to agree with Lidzbarski[4] that this curious name is an old Arabic one.

So far as the word *'Īsa* (the name given to Jesus in the Ḳur'ān) is concerned, it was apparently in use before Muḥammad, and it does not seem probable that it was coined by him. A monastery in South Syria, near the territory of the Christian Ghassanid Arabs, bore in A.D. 571 the name *'Isanīyah*, that is to say, "of the followers of Jesus," i.e. of the Christians. See fol. 84[b] of the Brit. Mus. Syr. MS. Add., 14, 602, which is of the end of the sixth, or at the latest of the beginning of the seventh century.[5] The Mandean pronunciation 'Iso[6] is of no avail as the guttural *'é* has in Mandaic the simple pronunciation of a *hamzah*. The Mandean pronunciation is rather reminiscent of *'Iso*,

[1] *Palestinian Syriac Lectionary*, p. 289 (edit. Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[3] *Moslem World*, 1925, p. 343.

[4] *Johannesbuch*, ii., 73 : cf. also Nöldeke in *Z.A.*, xxx., 158 sq.

[5] P. 714 in Wright's catalogue.

[6] Nöldeke's *Mand. Gram.*, xxix. and 55 ; Lidzbarski, *Mand. Liturgien*, 191.

as the name of Jesus was written in the Marcionite Gospel used by the Syrians.[1]

II.

Religious Terms.

Almost all the religious terms found in the Ḳur'ān are derived from Syriac. In this category we will include such terms as :

كاهن from ܟܗܢܐ *priest* (lii., 29 ; lxix., 42).
مسيح from ܡܫܝܚܐ *the Christ* (iii., 40 and passim).
قسّيس from ܩܫܝܫܐ *Christian priest*[2] (v., 85).
دين (in the sense of) *last judgment* from ܕܝܢܐ (i., 3, etc.).
سفرة from ܣܦܪܐ *scribes* (lxxx., 15).
مثل from ܡܬܠܐ *parable*[3] (in an evangelical sense ; frequently used).
فرقان from ܦܘܪܩܢܐ *salvation*[3] (ii., 50 and passim).
طاغوت from ܛܥܘܬܐ *error, infidelity* (ii., 257 passim).
ربّاني from ܪܒܝܐ *preceptor,*[3] *doctor* (iii., 73 ; v. 48 and 68).
قربان from ܩܘܪܒܢܐ *sacrifice* (iii., 179 and passim).
قيامة from ܩܝܡܬܐ *resurrection* (frequently used).
ملكوت from ܡܠܟܘܬܐ *Kingdom of Heaven* (vi., 75 and passim).
جنّة from ܓܢܬܐ *the Garden*, i.e. *Heaven* (frequently used).
ملاك from ܡܠܐܟܐ *angel*, frequently used in sing. and plur.
روح القدس from ܪܘܚ ܩܘܕܫܐ *the Spirit of Holiness* (Holy Spirit) (xvi., 104).
نفس from ܢܦܫܐ *the spiritual soul* (frequently used).

[1] Mitchell's *St. Ephraim's Prose Refutation of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan*, vols. i.-ii., 1912-21 (as in index), and see my study on same in *J.R.A.S.*, 1922, p. 530.

[2] It is in place here to remark that the Syriac word *Kashshīsh* was used as a proper name by many Ghassanid Arabs of South Syria. See "Mar Kashshīh, the Arab," in Brit. Mus. Syr. MS. Add., 14, 458, p. 48, in Wright's Catalogue. The MS. was copied before the death of Muḥammad.

[3] Many worthless conjectures have been put forward concerning this word by Muslim commentators who knew no other Semitic language besides Arabic.

وقّر from ܫܒܚ *to glorify God* (xlviii., 9).
اية from ܐܬܐ *sign, verse* (frequently used).
الله from ܐܠܗܐ (ancient Nestorian pronunciation *Allāha*) *God.* The pre-Islamic word for deity seems to be represented by the form اله *Ilāh.*
صلّى from ܨܠܐ *he prayed*, and its derivative صلوة, from ܨܠܘܬܐ, *prayer.*
صام from ܨܘܡ *he fasted*, and its derivative صوم, from ܨܘܡܐ, *fast.*
خطى from ܚܛܐ *he sinned*, and its derivative خطية, from ܚܛܝܬܐ, *sin.*
كفر from ܟܦܪ *he denied the faith.*
ذبح from ܕܒܚ *sacrifice* (xxxvii., 107).
تجلّى from ܐܬܓܠܐ *to reveal oneself* (said of God), vii., 139.
سبّح from ܫܒܚ *he glorified God*, and all its derivatives.
قدّس from ܩܕܫ *he glorified God* (ii., 28).
حوب from ܚܘܒܐ *crime* (iv., 2).
طوبى from ܛܘܒ *blessed be ! beatitude* (xiii., 28).

This dependence of the Ḳur'ân upon Syriac religious terms is also visible in the theological expressions, such as *light upon light* (= light from light), of xxiv., 35 (where نور from ܢܗܝܪܐ), and in all semi-Biblical quotations or inspirations, such as the story of the camel and the eye of the needle (vii., 39), where جمل like ܓܡܠܐ in Matt. xix., 24, and the idea of God causing to die and to live (liii., 45), where امات and احيا, like ܐܡܬ and ܐܚܝ in 1 Sam. ii., 6, where the Hebrew is in the second form.

The same applies to Biblical events and facts, such as طوفان (vii., 130 ; xxix., 13), *flood*, from ܛܘܦܢܐ, and صلب from ܨܠܒ, *to crucify*, as applied to Christ (iv., 156). As such we will also count منّ, *manna*, from ܡܢ[1] (ii., 54 ; vii., 160 ; xx., 82), سلوى, *quail*, from ܫܠܘܝ (*ibid.*), اسباط, *tribes*, from ܫܒܛ. Another category of verbal Syriacisms is to be found in the literally translated Syriac words ; as such we will

[1] It could not have been taken from Hebrew because of its mention with *Salwa*. See Fraenkel, *De Vocabulis*, p. 24. With this scholar I am in perfect agreement concerning some other words in this section.

count the frequently used رسول, *Apostle*, from ܫܠܚ, and, كلمة, *Word* (of God) from ܡܠܐ (iv., 169, et passim).

I believe that in the above list the words, the Syriac origin of which could be denied, are very few. The list could be increased by scores of other words, but the above vocables are sufficient for the purpose of this first list. The only Ḳur'ānic religious terms that betray Hebraic influence are the two technical terms of *taurāt*—Torah, and *Ṭābūt*, "ark"[1] (ii., 49; xx., 39). The same may to some extent be said of the late Aramaic גֵּהִנָּם, *Jahannam*, "hell," which lacks a *mīm* in classical Syriac. The word *Mathāni*, in xv., 87 and xxxix., 24, is obscure, and its connection with the technical word *mishnah* is quite possible but not certain. On the other hand, *ḥabr*, "doctor," is both Syriac and Hebrew, with a slight change in the meaning.

The Jewish influence on the religious vocabulary of the Ḳur'ān is indeed negligible.

In spite of the close and intimate relations that existed between Ḥijāz and Abyssinia, relations that were strengthened (if we are to believe the Muslim historians on this subject) by the fact that the early Muslims took refuge with Najāshi, the King of Abyssinia, the only Ethiopic religious influence on the style of the Ḳur'ān is in the word *ḥawāriyūn*, "Apostles." It is also possible that the word *ṣuḥuf*, "leaves, sheets," may have been inspired by the corresponding Ethiopic word.

Here also we must remark, as we did in the case of the Ḳur'ānic proper names, that the pronunciation of the above Syriac religious terms is that in use among the Nestorians and not the Jacobites. The latter say *furḳōn* and not *furḳān*, *Ḳurbōn* and not *Ḳurbān*, *Ḳashīsh* and not *Ḳashshīsh* (with a *shaddah*), etc.

III.

Common Words.

There are words in the Ḳur'ān which are somewhat uncommon in Arabic but quite common in Syriac. As such we will count:

[1] The word *Sūrah* is of unknown origin, and its right etymology is in our judgment still obscure.

قران[1] from ܩܪܝܢܐ (Ḳur'ān), a technical Syriac word to mean *scriptural lesson*, or *reading*.

حسبان from ܡܚܫܒܢܐ *numbering* (vi., 96 ; xviii., 38 ; lv., 4).

مهيمن from ܡܗܝܡܢܐ *faithful* (v., 52 ; lix., 25).

نون from ܢܘܢܐ *fish* (xxi., 87).

طور from ܛܘܪܐ *mountain* (xx., 82 and passim).

تبر from ܬܒܪ *he defeated*, *destroyed* (xxv., 41 and passim).

شانى from ܫܢܝܐ *hater* (cviii., 3 ; *cf.* also v., 3, 11).

برية (in the sense of) *creation* from ܒܪܝܬܐ (xcviii, 5-6).

اقنى from ܐܩܢܐ *to cause to possess* (liii., 49).

حنان from ܚܢܢܐ *grace* (xix., 14).

ربّى (in the sense of) *metropolis*, from ܡܕܝܢܬܐ (vi., 92, etc.).

abb, from *ibba* or *abba*, "fruit" (lxxx., 31).

misk, from *mushk*, "musk" (lxxxiii., 26). [The word is possibly of Persian origin, but it passed into the Ḳur'ān through Syriac.]

maḳālīd, from *ḳelīd*, "key" (xxxix., 63 ; xlii., 10). [The word is of Persian origin, but it passed into the Ḳur'ān through Syriac. The proof is in the letter Ḳāf.]

istabraḳ, from *istabarg*, "silk brocade" (lxxvi., 21). [The word appears to be of doubtful origin, but it passed into the Ḳur'ān through Syriac.][2]

Many of the above words are wholly Syriac and no amount of lexicographical and grammatical subtlety will, in our judgment, succeed in Arabicising *nūn*, *Ṭūr*, or *muhaimin*, etc. I believe also with

[1] There is not much doubt in my mind that the word *Ḳurān* is imitated from the Syriac *Ḳiryān*. All the Biblical lessons to be read in the Churches are called by the Syrians *Ḳiryāns*. The Prophet called simply his book by the word that was used to name the pericopes of the Revelation in the Christian Churches of his day. We should also remember that in the oldest MSS. of the Ḳur'ān the word is simply written قرن which may be, and has already been, read *Ḳur'ān* or *Ḳurān* without *hamzah*. I suspect that this reading of the word without *hamzah* is reminiscent of an earlier pronunciation *Ḳuryān* or *Ḳiryān* (with a *yā'*) and that the *hamzah* pronunciation is a late reading adopted to make the word more Arabic and in harmony with the root of the verb *kara'a*.

[2] So Fraenkel, *De vocabulis*, 25, who refers to Lagarde's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 13. So also Siddiḳi, *Studien*, 8.

Fraenkel (*ibid.*, p. 250) that the word اساطير in vi., 25, etc., is the Syriac ܐܣܛܘܪܐ, "writing, archives, any written thing." The meaning of "legends, stories," given to the word by the Muslim commentators, is arbitrary, a device to give a sense to a sentence that they could not understand, and is not warranted either by the etymological meaning of the root, or by its comparison with the other Semitic languages.[1]

Another Syriac word in the Ḳur'ān is رحمان, *compassionate*, from ܪܚܡܢ, and the recently discovered *Book of the Ḥimyarites*[2] shows that the word was used in Yaman before the time of the Prophet.

The Palestinian form of Syriac is represented in the Ḳur'ān by the word صديق - ܨܕܝܩ, *a just man* and its derivatives. In Classical Syriac the first letter is a *Zain*, but in Hebrew a *Ṣādhé*.

The Graeco-Roman world is indirectly represented by the three following words which refer to the State technicalities of currency, weight, and measure; دينار (iii., 36), *denarius*, درهم (xii., 20), *drachm*, and قنطار, *Ḳintār* (iii., 68, etc.). These are of no importance, and it is highly probable that *dīnār* and *Ḳinṭār* have passed into the Ḳur'ān through the intermediary of the Syriac ܕܝܢܪ and ܩܢܛܪܐ. This has actually taken place with قرطاس χάρτης (vi., 7 and 91), which has almost certainly passed into the Ḳur'ān through the Syriac ܩܪܛܝܣ. The same may possibly be said of قسطاس (xvii., 37; xxvi., 182), *balance, measure*. The spelling ξέστης, however, is nearer to the Arabic form with a final *sīn* than the corresponding Syriac ܩܣܛܐ; on the other hand what about the first *Ḳāf* which is decidedly Syriac? The word, however, represents a technical term of weight as used in the Near and Middle East, and the editor of the Ḳur'ān wrote it as it was pronounced in his day probably by the Palestinian Syrians. Can the same be said of *sundus*, from σάνδυξ, *red coloured* cloth? (xviii., 30), etc.

We believe it to be quite possible that the word *'iblīs*, "the evil one," is derived from *diabolus*, through a confusion of the initial *dāl* with an *aliph* by an early ḳāri, or the first editor of the Ḳur'ān. This is not absolutely impossible with some ancient forms of the above two letters. The connection of the word with the verb *balasa* is artificial, and, if accepted, would throw us into a non-Arabic and an altogether

[1] *Cf.* Nöldeke-Schwally, *Ges. d. Qor.*, i., 16, and especially the references given by Horovitz, *Kor. Unters.*, p. 70, to the South Arabian inscriptions.

[2] P. 10 of the text (edit. A. Moberg).

non-Semitic form of substantives which would baffle a critic. Still more remarkable is the frequently used word جن *Jinns*, which is closely associated with the Latin *genii*; and equally remarkable are the words قلم, *pen*, which is reminiscent of κάλαμος, *calamus*, and the word سجل (xxi., 104), which is undoubtedly taken from σιγίλλιον, *sigillum*, through the Syriac ܣܓܝܠܐ. The words used to express precious stones such as *marjān* (lv., 22), and *yāḳūt* (lv., 58), are cosmopolitan, and may have been taken either from Syriac or from Greek, but more probably from Syriac.

As an instance of the curious relation which often exists between the Semitic languages, we may remark that it is possible that *sauṭ* (lxxxix., 12)—if it can be taken in the sense of "outpour, flood"—has some connection with the Ethiopic *sōṭa*.[1] The Commentators, however, give to the word the sense of "lashes, strokes of a whip" from the Syriac (Nestorian) *Shauṭa*. Perhaps the word may also be compared with the Syriac *Shubṭa* (Nestorian pronunciation: Shūṭa), "molten metal."

Another instance of the curious results that arise from a linguistic comparison of the Semitic languages with one another is to be found in the root *fataḥa* (xxvi., 118; xxxii., 28) which seems to require in the context the sense of "to judge between, judgment"; a meaning that the word possesses in Ethiopic.[2]

As in the case of religious terms the list of Arabic common words represented in, or derived from, Syriac, could be increased literally by scores of others.

No other language is represented in the Ḳur'ān. Here as in the two previous categories the pronunciation of all the above Syriac words is Nestorian and not Jacobite.

IV.

Orthography.

There are numerous words in the Ḳur'ān which by their orthography betray Syriac influence. The following grammatical features will be sufficient for our purpose.

[1] Barth, *Etymologische Studien*, 14; Horovitz, *Koranische*, 13.

[2] *Cf.* Horovitz, *Koranische*, 18; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte*, i., 219.

(*a*) حيوة, *life* from ܚܝܘܬܐ, صلوة, *prayer*, from ܨܠܘܬܐ, etc.

(*b*) The elimination of the *aliph* of prolongation, answering to the Syriac vowel *Zaḳāpha*, ex. gr. بنت, *daughters*, for بنات under the influence of the Syriac ܒܢܬ. All such plural words are written without *aliph* in the ancient MSS. of the Ḳur'ān.

(*c*) The retention of the *yā'* in the defective verbs when joined to pronouns, ex. gr. اجتبيه (xvi., 122), *he chose him*, for اجتباه (Syriac ܐܬܒܚܝ). The *yā'* as a substitute for the *aliph* is written in all the ancient MSS. of the Ḳur'ān in the cases under consideration, and is undoubtedly under Syriac influence.

(*d*) We all know that in the oldest MSS. of the Ḳur'ān thick dots take the place of the short (and occasionally of the long) vowels. I believe that these dots are almost certainly derived from the Syriac Massoretic *puḥḥāmés* or *nūḳzé* which fill the same purpose in difficult or ambiguous words.

V.

Construction of Sentences.

(*a*)

There is a sentence in which the use of كلّ denotes a well-known Syriac expression by means of the corresponding ܟܠ, an expression absolutely foreign to the Arabic language.

Surah, xi., 121 says : وكلّا نقص عليك من انباء الرسل ما نثبت به فوادك which translated literally means : *All we relate to thee from the stories of the Apostles is to confirm thy heart thereby.* This *kull* betrays the Syriac *kull* used in phrases with the above Ḳur'ānic meaning and construction, ex. gr.[1] ܟܠ ܕܐܢܫ ܠܡܫܕܐ ܒܫܡ ܟܠ ܕܐܢܫ ܒܫܡ ܟܠ ܕܐܢܫ. To explain away the difficulty the Commentators resort to absolutely useless compromises :

Ṭabari (*Tafsīr*, xii., 87) says that the baṣriyūn think that *kull* is in the accusative because it is a *maṣdar* to *naḳuṣṣu* (a queer *maṣdar !*), but he prefers the opinion that the word is an *iḍāfah*, which is obviously inaccurate. The same thing may be said of Zamakhshari's opinion (*Kashshāf*, p. 637) that the word *nab'* is understood after *kull.* The same is asserted by Nisābūri (*Gharā'ib*, xii., 90) and by Baiḍāwi (*Anwār*, i., 582), edit. Bulak, 1296, A.H.). That the resort to *iḍāfah* is a worthless compromise is borne out by

[1] *Breviarium Chaldaicum*, i., 383.

the fact (*a*) that there is no second term of *iḍāfah*, (*b*) that the *aliph* and *tanwīn* of *kull* render the existence of any *iḍāfah* almost out of the question.

(*b*)

There is a sentence in which the demonstrative pronouns are used immediately after the personal pronouns, in the same way as they are used in Syriac but not in Arabic.

Surah ii., 79 has : ثم انتم هولاء تقتلون انفسكم . *Then are you the very persons who kill yourselves.* The use of *hawilā'* is here very peculiar and denotes the Syriac *hālain*. The use of demonstrative pronouns without the relative pronouns, when followed by a verb the action of which they tend to corroborate, is Syriac and not Arabic.

Zamakhshari (*Kashshāf*, p. 87) has no good reason to offer for the anomaly. Baiḍāwi (*Anwār*, i., 95) evades the difficulty by giving an example of a demonstrative pronoun (*anta dhāka*), which is obviously irrelevant. Ṭabari (*Tafsīr*, i., 314) quotes Abu Ja'far, to the effect that a vocative *yā* or such word as *ḳaum* are understood after *antum*, and refers to some other devices which are really useless. Nisābūri (*Gharā'ib*, i., 328) believes that *antum* is a "mubtada'," and "hawilā'" its "khabar," by inserting between the two some such words as *ba'da dhālika*, and quotes also the Kūfiyūn to the effect that the demonstrative pronoun has replaced here the relative in a way that they cannot understand.

(*c*)

There is a sentence in which the word شيء, *something*, is under the influence of the Syriac ܡܕܡ, *something*, used in a meaning not sanctioned by the genius of the Arabic language.

Surah lx., 11, says : وان فاتكم شيء من ازواجكم الى الكفّار . *And if any of your wives escape from you to the unbelievers.* I believe that the word *shai'* applied to a human being is not Arabic at all, and betrays the Syriac *middaim* which is applied to reasonable beings (ܢܫܐ ܡܕܡ).

This *shai'* is an unsurmountable difficulty to the commentators who resort in it to worthless compromises. To avoid the difficulty b n Mas'ūd (in Zamakhshari's *Kashshāf*, p. 1475) changed *shai*

into *aḥad*. Baiḍāwi (*Anwār*, ii., 516) believes that it refers to the dowry of the wives (*shai'un min muhūrihinna*), which is obviously against the context. Ṭabari (xxviii., 49) evades the difficulty and speaks only of the dowry. Nīsābūri (*Gharā'ib*, xxviii, 45) says that *shai'* means here *aḥad*, but like Baiḍāwi makes also mention of the fact that it may refer to the dowry of the wives, and he finally registers the opinion of some linguists that *shai'* is here used for "emphasis" or "derision." This uncommon interpretation is also found in Zamakhshari and Baiḍāwi (*in loc.*).

(*d*)

There are in the Ḳur'ān many sentences in which the Arabic word used does not fit in with the meaning required by the context, but when compared with its Syriac equivalent its right meaning becomes clear; ex. gr.,

Surah xlviii., 12, says وظننتم ظن السوء وكنتم قوما بورا. (*But you believed that the Apostle and the believers would not come back to their families, and this appeared pleasing in your hearts*), *and you believed wrongly and you were ill advised people.*

The word *būr* has been translated as meaning "worthless, rogue" or "an undone people" which does not suit the context. Is it not the transliteration of the Syriac *būr* which means "ignorant, ill advised"? The same meaning seems also to be more suitable in xxv. 19.

In Surah xxxviii., 2, occurs the sentence فنادوا ولات حين مناص. *And they cried but no time was it of escape.* Let us admit frankly that this *lāt* is a barbarous anomaly in the Arabic language, and scores of pages have been written about it by Muslim commentators and grammarians without advancing our knowledge one iota. I believe that it is almost certainly the Syriac ܠܝܬ, *there is not, there was not*, a contraction of ܠܐ ܐܝܬ. This is also the opinion of Suyūṭi (*Mutawakkili*, p. 54) and of some other Muslim writers.[1] In many ancient MSS. of the Ḳur'ān the word is spelt لت or ليت, and the *aliph* of prolongation has been added or substituted for the *yā'* by later *ḳurrā'*

[1] On the expression *haita la-ka*, "come hither," in xii., 23, see Suyūṭi, *Mutawakkili*, 54, and *Itḳān*, 325. He believes the phrase to be Syriac, which is perfectly true so far as *la-ka* is concerned.

as they have done for thousands of other words with a medial *yā'*. See above the mark (*c*) in section "orthography" (p. 91).

VI.

Foreign Historical References.

(*a*)

In Surah xviii., 82 sqq., there is an account of the well-known legend of Alexander the Great. The Macedonian conqueror first went westwards and found the sun setting in a black muddy spring, and then he journeyed eastwards and discovered that below the two mountains between which he was standing lived people who could scarcely understand speech. They implored Alexander to set a rampart between them and a wicked people called *Yājūj* and *Mājūj*. Yielding to their entreaties Alexander erected a wall of pig iron across the opening between the two mountains, fused it into a solid mass of metal, and strengthened it by pouring molten brass over the whole.

The Romance of Alexander is found in many languages; in Greek (that of Pseudo-Callisthenes about A.D. 200); in Latin (that of Julerius Valerius about A.D. 340 and of Leo the Archpresbyter, eleventh century); in Armenian (unknown date, but probably from the Greek); in Syriac (written about the beginning of the seventh, but known at the beginning of the sixth century); in Ethiopic (unknown date, but centuries after the Arab invasion); in Coptic (about the ninth century). Later versions include the Persian, the Turkish and, *mirabile dictu*, the Malay and the Siamese.

The best study of the Romance is to our knowledge that of Nöldeke,[1] who wrote after the publication of the Syriac text of the story by Budge.[2] From the works of Jacob of Serug we know, however, that the story was well known in Syriac circles prior to A.D. 520. Of all the above peoples to whom the Romance was known in one form or another the only ones that could have influenced the Ḳur'ān were the Syrians and the Ethiopians; but since we have no evidence that the Ethiopians knew anything of the story in the Prophet's life-

[1] *Beiträge zur Gesch. des Alexanderromans* in the Vienna Academy's publications of 1890.

[2] *The History of Alexander the Great*, 1889.

time,[1] we have only the Syrians left from whom the Prophet, or the editor of the Ḳur'ān, could have derived their information. This may be corroborated by the following considerations :

1°. All the early versions write the word "Gog" only as *Gog* while the Ḳur'ān writes it as *Agog*[2] or more generally *yā-gōg* (with an *aliph* or with a *yā'* and an *aliph* at the beginning). In a poem by Jacob of Serug written towards the beginning of the sixth Christian century on the Romance of Alexander and Gog and Magog, the word constantly occurs with an initial *alaph* as *A-gog*.[3] This Syriac spelling has probably influenced the Arabic form of the word as used in the Ḳur'ān. There is even a verse in the Syriac text (*ibid.*, p. 378) in which the author seems to derive *A-gog* from *Agoga* = *ἀγωγός*, "stream, aqueduct".

2°. In the Greek of Pseudo-Callisthenes Alexander is a pagan king. In the Ḳur'ān Alexander becomes a pious man and a messenger of Allah. This idea could have emanated only from Syrians, with whom, I do not know for what reason, the Macedonian *jahān-gushā* had become a messenger and a prophet of God. All the poem of Jacob of Serug mentioned above is based on such an assumption.[4]

(*b*)

In Surah xxii., 17, occurs the word مجوس, *Magians*. I believe that this word is from Syriac ܡܓܘܣܐ[5] and that the Prophet or the editor of the Ḳur'ān had heard of Magians only from Syrians and not from Greeks, Persians, or any other people, because curiously enough the word is meant in the Ḳur'ānic text to be in the plural form from an hypothetical singular the nature of which we cannot guess with certitude. Now in Syriac, contrary to Greek and Persian, the form

[1] The Ethiopic story published by Budge in 1896 under the title of *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great* is clearly a post-Islamic production and is undoubtedly under the influence of the Ḳur'ān and of late Muslim writers.

[2] See examples in Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorans*, p. 270.

[3] Edit. of Budge in *Zeitsch. f. Assyriologie*, vi., pp. 376, 382, 389, 391, 393, 398, 400-401 and 403.

[4] About Alexander's wall see the *Chronicle of Dionysius of Tell-mahré*, p. 24 sq. (of the text, edit. Chabot).

[5] Cf. Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, ii., 37.

of the word does not change in its consonants when passing from singular into plural, and the Prophet or the editor of the Ḳur'ān used the term in the plural of Syriac and not that of Arabic, as they heard it pronounced in their time. This difficulty was so keenly felt by post-Ḳur'ānic Muslim authors that from the plural form of the word as used in the Ḳur'ān they created (as if it was a gentilic and ethnic vocable) a singular form, مجوسي.

Etymologically the Syriac word itself is derived from the Persian *mugh* (in Zend Moghu), "a fire-worshipper".

(*c*)

The Christians are called in the Ḳur'ān نصارى which I take to be from the Syriac ܢܨܪܝ. Indeed there is no other language besides Syriac in which the word "Christians" is expressed by the word "naṣāra" or anything near it. Further, in many ancient documents the Syriac word *naṣrāya* is applied exclusively to Christians without any reference at all to the "Nazarenes". The Martyr, Simon bar Ṣabbā'é, the great Patriarch of the East, is in A.D. 341 called the "head of the *Naṣrāyé*"[1] i.e. of the Christians. All Christians are called *naṣrāyé* in the life of the same saint written about the end of the fourth century.[2] The same name is also applied to them in more than one hagiographical piece emanating from writers whose country was situated within the boundaries of the Sasanian Empire. St. Pethion was asked in A.D. 447: "Which benefits have accrued to thee from thy connection with the *Naṣrāyé?*"[3] i.e. Christians. A Zoroastrian Persian General living before the Arab invasion sends a word to his Byzantine Christian opponent to observe a certain feast "because of the Jews and *Naṣrāyé* (i.e. Christians) that are found in my army."[4] There is no need to give more examples, but we will allude to the fact that in the Romance of Julian the Apostate alone *Naṣrāya* is used several times to express a Christian.[5]

There is no doubt whatever that in the Persian Empire, and to some extent also in the Roman Empire, the Christians were called

[1] *Pat. Syr.*, ii., 792, 818 and 867.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii., 799. *Cf.* J. Horovitz, *ibid.*, p. 145.
[3] *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum* (edit. Bedjan), ii., 576.
[4] Land's *Anecdota Syriaca*, iii., 258.
[5] See the index of Hoffmann's edition, *Julianos der Abtruennige*, p. xiv.

by non-Christians *naṣrāyé* (the *naṣāra* of the Ḳur'ān), and that the Prophet took the word from the Syrians.

(*d*)

In xi., 46 mention is made of the fact that the ark of Noah stood on a mountain called جودي. Few scholars will be inclined to deny the fact that this queer word is the Syriac ܛܘܪ, the mountain on which according to the Peshiṭta Version (Gen. viii., 4) and the Targum (contrary to all the other versions of the Bible which call the mountain *Ararat*) the ark of Noah stood above water. The Prophet or the editor of the Ḳur'ān had heard, therefore, the story of Noah and his flood only from Syrians. The reading of a *wāw* for a *ra'* (the difference between the two letters is very slight in Arabic script) may be ascribed to an early kāri or to the editor of the Ḳur'ān himself. The pronunciation of the initial *Ḳāf* as *Gāf* is used even in our days by almost all the Arabs of the desert, with whom every *Ḳāf* is invariably a *gāf*. No other explanation of the word *Jūdi* seems to me worth mentioning.

(*e*)

Frequent use is made in the Ḳur'ān of the word حنيف which I take to be derived from the Syriac ܚܢܦܐ *pagan*. This is also the opinion of some Muslim writers themselves.[1] In its singular form the word is used as follows: in ii., 129; iii., 89; vi., 79 and 162; xvi., 121 and 124, all in connection with Abraham being a *ḥanīf* and not a *mushrik*; in iii., 60 in connection with Abraham being neither a Jew nor a Christian, nor a *mushrik*, but a *ḥanīf*. In iv., 124 Abraham is a *ḥanīf*. In x., 105 and xxx., 29 the Prophet himself is ordered to be a *ḥanīf*. In its plural form the word is used in xxii., 32, where the faithful are ordered to be *ḥanīfs* but not *mushriks*, and in xcviii., 4, where they are ordered to be *ḥanīfs* and pray and give alms.

The Syriac derivation of the word offers to my mind no difficulty at all. The real difficulty lies in the fact that the word is used in a good sense in the Ḳur'ān wherein it is almost synonymous with

[1] Mas'ūdi's *Tanbih*, in *Bibl. Georg. Arab.* (edit. De Goeje), viii., 6, 90, 122, 136, *cf. Encyclopædia of Islam*, ii., 259-261.

"Muslim." To this difficulty I can offer no decisive solution, but I will tentatively propose the following considerations :

1°. On the one hand the Prophet must have heard many Christians say of him that since he was neither a Jew nor a Christian, he was by necessity a *ḥanfa ;* on the other hand he must have also heard from them that Abraham was likewise a *ḥanfa :* a perfectly true assertion. By its association with the great Patriarch Abraham, revered and respected by both Christians and Jews, the word *ḥanfa* came to acquire with Muḥammad a good and praiseworthy meaning. This is the reason why the Prophet is at some pains to emphasise the fact that Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian, but a *ḥanfa*, and wishes also his own religion to be *ḥanfūtha.*

2°. To express "idolatry," and "idolater" the Ḳur'ān uses some forms of the root *sharaka*, which mean "to associate." Now this "association" is always meant an association or a partnership of other beings with Allah, the true God, and never with any pagan deity, and this in spite of the fact that to express "idols" the Ḳur'ān knows of *auṯhān* (xxii., 31 ; xxix., 16 and 24), *aṣnām* (passim) and *tamāṯhīl* (xxi., 53 ; xxxiv., 12). This bad meaning of the root *sharaka* is naturally held to be as unworthy of Muḥammad as it is of Abraham, and this is the reason why so much stress is laid on the fact that Abraham was not a *muskrik.*

No solution of the difficulty offered by Muslim commentators or historians is worth mentioning. All their stories concerning a class of *ḥanīfs* and the good works of the so-called *taḥannuf* appear to me to be unhistorical and purposely invented to explain the difficulty created by the Ḳur'ānic verses under consideration.

(*f*)

In xxx., 10 the word *Rūm* is used to express the Byzantines, the Greeks of Constantinople, the "New Rome" (Ῥώμη νέα). Whatever our views may be as to the linguistic peculiarities of the word we are not at liberty to deny that it is derived from the Syriac *Rūmāya.* Indeed the Syrians went so far in their application of the word to Byzantines that they often called simple "soldiers" *Rūmāyé*[1] as if the only soldiers they knew were Byzantine soldiers.

[1] See the remark of Wright in *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, p. 30.

KITĀB UD DĪN WA-d-DAULAH.

By A. MINGANA.

A JESUIT missionary in Syria has apparently pretended that he could prove that the manuscript containing the above work was by an 'Ali Ṭabari of the twentieth century, if he were given fifty Syrian pounds to print his report on it. In view of this very strange assertion by a man who, to my knowledge, has never given himself the trouble to examine the manuscript, the following statement of facts will not be out of place.

The Rylands Arabic MS. marked Crawford 631 constituted an integral part of the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, the books of which were collected by several generations of the Earls of Crawford and Balcarres, and kept at Haigh Hall (the private residence of Lord Crawford) before they were acquired *en bloc* by Mrs. Rylands in 1901. In 1897 (i.e. when the MSS. were still at Haigh Hall), Lord Crawford and the Orientalist Michael Kerney wrote a hand-list of all the Oriental manuscripts found in the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*. This hand-list was published at Aberdeen in 1898,[1] and the MS. Crawford 631 containing the Apology is registered twice in it (pp. 10 and 50), once under the title of "'Ali Ibn Zain aṭ-Ṭabari," and another time under "Kitāb ud Dīn Wa-d-Dawlat." Further, on p. xxxvii of the Introduction, written in 1897, Kerney informs us that this hand-list was made from a catalogue written 30 years previously, or in 1867. Now this very catalogue of 1867 is found in Rylands Library, and p. 213 of it is entirely devoted to the description of this Arabic MS. 631. From this description we learn that the MS. had in the Library of the Earls of Crawford and Balcarres of that time the press mark $\frac{E}{6}$. Further, when in the year

[1] *Bibliotheca lindesiana: Hand-list of Oriental Manuscripts.*

1868 Lord Crawford purchased the Hamilton collection of 303 Arabic MSS. he rearranged the numbers of all his Oriental MSS. and the MS. of the Apology received the number 631; before this year the MS. had the number 157. Judging from this number we may state with confidence that the MS. was lying on the shelves of the Library of the Earls of Crawford and Balcarres at least some twenty-five years earlier, i.e. since 1843.

I hope that with all thoughtful and impartial scholars this note will dispose of the fantastic assertion of the Jesuit missionary and put a stop to this unworthy nonsense and unqualified absurdity about a work which is certainly one of the most authentic that the Arab and Syrian world has ever seen. There is no need to emphasise here the fact that the MS. is absolutely genuine and authentic in every respect without the shadow of doubt.[1]

[1] See the BULLETIN OF J.R.L. ix. (1925), pp. 236-240.

ST. MARTIN OF TOURS.[1]

By E. K. RAND, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

Professor of Latin in Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.

THERE is hardly a spot on earth where the pure sense of beauty so permeates the very air as at Tours. Tours is the heart of the real France, of French royalty, of the irrepressible aristocracy that inheres in everything French, whatever the prevailing government or political theory. It is as hard for a French peasant to be plebeian. From the earliest period of the Middle Ages down to the present day, dwellers in Tours have created beautiful things, their interests and accomplishments varying with the ages.

I will not detain you with the history of Tours under the Romans or of the introduction of Christianity at the time of the persecution of Decius in the third century. St. Gatian was traditionally the founder. He is hardly more than a name, though his spirit animates that most beautiful of outer forms, the cathedral of Tours. The religious annals of Tours really begin with St. Martin, whose sweet and gentle nature drew the worship of the earlier Middle Ages as that of St. Francis of Assisi did that of the later. Martin was born about 316 A.D., and his life filled the fourth century. He came of a respectable though not noble family from Sabaria in Lower Hungary. He was baptized in early youth, but his parents were heathen; his father, despite the pleas of his famous son, remained so. Martin at first enlisted in the army, serving in North Italy and Gaul under the Emperor Julian. His philanthropy was first manifested one day when a shivering beggar appealed to the passing cohorts, and Martin, tearing off his cloak, cut it in two with his sword and gave the beggar half. The

[1] A Lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 11th October, 1926.

part that he retained was preserved in the oratory of the Frankish kings under the name of St. Martin's Cloak. Martin's heart was not in the military career, and he meant at the first chance to get his discharge. Matters came to a head when the commander, planning an incursion into Germany, first distributed donatives among the soldiers,—a not infrequent means of strengthening military morale in those days. Martin, as a conscientious objector, refused his donative. When taunted with cowardice by his officers and his fellow-men, he offered to attest his bravery by standing in front of the army and warding off the foe with the sign of the cross. His challenge was accepted and Martin would have fulfilled his pledge, had not a messenger come from the enemy next morning, bearing their unconditional surrender.

Martin therefore left the army, and after receiving instruction from no less a person than Hilary of Poitiers, took Holy Orders, beginning in the humble office of an Exorcist. After returning for a visit to his parents and attempting to settle in Illyrium and then in Milan, he found the Arian heresy too strong for his powers, and withdrew with a friend to a small island in the Mediterranean. Martin had not the intellectual armor for taking the field against heretics. That was the task for a Hilary or an Augustine. Martin's equipment was a holy life and the faith that works miracles and moves mountains. These were the appropriate weapons against Paganism. He therefore returned to Gaul, where there was plenty of Paganism to combat. He established a simple monastery at what is now Ligugé, near Poitiers, but he was not destined long to remain in the career that would have pleased him most, that of a simple monk and humanitarian. On the death of St. Lidorius, Bishop of Tours, in 372, Martin was chosen to succeed him. Like Ambrose and Gregory, he was made a Bishop against his will; *noluit episcopari.* But he could not quite forgo the *beata solitudo* of the monastic life; he founded a new establishment two miles out of Tours across the river, where St. Gatian had had his cell, and where new cells for the brethren were readily hollowed out of the hill-side, like the dwellings that one sees there to-day. In contrast to the first foundation at Ligugé, this was known as the larger monastery—*Maius Monasterium*, whence its modern name of Marmoutier. It was ransacked by the Normans in the ninth century, and restored in the tenth. In the thirteenth century, a splendid Abbey Church was erected, and the whole establishment

protected with a wall. It became rich and prosperous. There is a little couplet that runs :

> De quelque coté que le vent vente
> Marmoutier a cens et rente.
>
> "Whate'er the point whence blows the wind,
> Marmoutier's purse is warmly lined."

The abbey remained one of the finest specimens of feudal and military as well as ecclesiastical architecture in France, and naturally attracted the attention of the Protestants in 1562, and the Disciples of Reason about 1793. In accordance with the usual procedure, the former ravaged the interior, and the latter pulled down the exterior. Most of the surviving ruins crumbled away in the nineteenth century :

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.

In his function of Bishop, Martin's chief services, as I have indicated, were two,—his successful contest against the surrounding heathen, and the miracle of his own life. He was a man of God, like the prophets of old. His fame filled the land and monarchs did his bidding. Sulpicius Severus, the biographer of Martin, tells a charming story of how the Empress, the wife of Maximus, invited him to the palace, hung with rapt attention on his lips as he discoursed on things present and to come, and served him in solitary state at dinner, herself content with the crumbs that he had left. In the manner of the Gospel, she washed his feet with her tears and wiped them with the hairs of her head, thus being a Martha and a Mary in one, ministering like the former and listening like the latter. All this was a bit embarrassing to the Bishop, who was not used to such courtesies. It also gave occasion for his enemies to spread scandal, in which, we need not say, there was no grain of truth.

For Martin was a holy man ; he more nearly approached the goal that monasticism hoped to reach than perhaps any of his contemporaries. We must not regard the monastic life as primarily a flight from the world ; it was rather a spiritual discipline as practical as military discipline is to-day. Its object was to develop supernatural qualities in minds predisposed to believe that these could be attained. The converse of *laborare est orare* is also true ; I mean to say, a monastic *oratory* was likewise a *laboratory*, where a perfectly definite experiment,—a spiritual, not a physical experiment—was tried, and achieved.

The life of St. Martin, says Sulpicius, was a constant prayer. Just as a blacksmith gets a change from his work by striking his anvil, so the Saint, when apparently otherwise engaged, was really praying. The result was a nature that to itself and to others at least appeared to have acquired a special spiritual insight, the power of associating with beings of the other world, of conversing with them, of seeing them face to face. An anchoret who inhabited the wilds of Mt. Sinai sans friends and sans raiment, was asked, by someone who managed to have a brief conversation with him, why he shunned all human society, even that of monks. He replied, "He who is entertained by men, cannot be visited by angels." St. Martin was visited by angels, as he believed, and by Christ himself, and not infrequently by the Devil. For with the establishment of monasticism, Satan had found a new and subtle form of temptation. He would appear in the guise of an angel, or of Christ, to some monk who liked to boast of the number of the angelic visitations vouchsafed him, and thus the sin of *superbia* would set in and make him an easy prey for the adversary. Martin, of course, was proof against such assaults. When the Devil once appeared to him in an aureole of purple light, clad in a royal robe, crowned with a golden diadem studded with precious stones, Martin reminded him that our Lord would not manifest himself with such a display of tinsel. But ordinarily, Satan came merely for a quiet chat with the Saint. He knew he was beaten, but he just couldn't keep away. On one occasion, Satan argued, on a very high theological plane, that there is no salvation for those who have once fallen into sin. Martin, anticipating Bobby Burns by some centuries, retorted that on the contrary if the Devil himself would repent there might still be a chance for him; in fact he intimated that he would gladly intercede for him. A spirit like this had no room for enmities. Martin was sweetly tolerant of everybody; he would put up with insults even from the lower clergy *infimi clerici*. He never became angry; he never quite smiled,—but his face was ever suffused with a heavenly light, *extra naturam hominis*. Fortunatus, who wrote an epic on the saint, caught this quality in a couplet:

> O sinceri oculi nulla caligine pressi,
> Mens radiata sopho retinens sine nube serenum,—
>
> "O purest eyes, and thought-illumined mind,
> That piercing shadows, scans th' unclouded blue."

This is the mind that can see visions, talk with angels, and by what had become a natural power, performed miracles, even to the raising of the dead. And, once more, such a virtue, acquired by spiritual solitude, has a social value. Martin, as Fortunatus has it, is a recluse who serves society :

Per medios populos anachoreta potens.

A virtue went out from him as he passed in the crowd. Once when he had spent the night at a certain monastery, the holy virgins of an adjoining convent rushed into the cell that he had occupied, licked with their tongues the places that his sacred body had touched, and divided the straw on which he had reposed. One of them hung a bit of the straw about the neck of a man possessed of the Devil. Straightway the devil left him and his soul was cleansed. Verily, these were the ages of faith.

There was no place for enmity, I have said, in St. Martin's heart, but enemies he had. A life so pure, so single, so unpractical, was a target for a certain sort of envy and ridicule. One day, when he was beginning his morning with his customary meditation in his solitary cell, a poor man appeared shivering with the cold and begging for some clothes. Martin reported his case to the archdeacon, who promised to tend to it. But the archdeacon was a busy man, and let the matter slide. A few hours later, the beggar came to Martin again and told him that nothing had been done. The archdeacon likewise appeared to remind his superior that it was time to meet the people who were gathering in the church. Martin replied that he could not until the poor man's needs had been attended to. The archdeacon became exceedingly irate, he went out and returned with a very cheap and rough specimen of a tunic, which he flung at the bishop's feet. The latter took off his own garment, handed it to the man, and himself put on the other without a word. He then went to the service. While he was officiating at the altar, a globe of light played about his head and its rays streamed over his shoulders. All this makes a pretty story of a very holy man, especially when it is turned into graceful verse by Fortunatus. But one can see how a busy and practical person like the archdeacon might well get irritated with the Saint. The thing might have been differently done, with a little less of the heroic and a little more of common sense and regard for discipline.

We gather from Sulpicius that Martin's associates were not all *extra naturam hominis*. While he was at prayer, they had leisure for *salutationes*—for passing the time of day. They probably sat down in *cathedrae* once in a while, whereas Martin, whenever he was so uncelestial as to sit, used nothing but a three-legged stool. It is obvious that the strict Egyptian habit in the matter of food and drink did not find favour in Gaul and that men and women, though loyal to the monastic life, did not quite forgo the pleasures of society. *Galli sumus*, says Sulpicius by way of apology. "We're French." "It is inhuman," says a Gallic monk, "to expect us Gauls to live on angel-food." Sulpicius quite expects, from his sharp contrasting of Martin's mode of living with that of the religious in general, to draw down on his head the wrath, as he puts it, of both women and monks. There is an air of defence, not to say defiance in his biography.

I must tell just one more anecdote which Sulpicius narrates to refute a slanderer, who had inquired why Martin, after miraculously quenching fires and raising the dead, had been nearly burned to death himself. It was on one of his episcopal visitations in mid-winter, when the brethren gave him a chamber the pavement of which was cracked. Underneath, it is of some interest to note, there was steam-heating, a *hypocauston*, in the old Roman way; this is a luxury which would not be allowed in all monasteries to-day, at least not in Italy, and to which Martin certainly was not accustomed. A comfortable bed of straw had been prepared for him in a corner. Martin was horrified at the sight, and coming as near to getting mad as I suppose he ever came he threw the litter aside and lay down on the bare floor in his usual way. But the straw, unluckily, had fallen over some of the cracks in the floor and in the course of the night the heat from the radiator ignited it. Martin woke in alarm, and as he confessed later to Sulpicius, yielded to the temptation of the Devil, who caught him before he was fairly awake, and hence the saint sought to put the fire out rather than to have recourse to prayer. While he was struggling with a refractory bolt on the door, the flames spread and caught his robe. But now he came to his better senses. He knelt *in the midst* of the fire, which at once died down. Just then the brethren rushed in, put out the remnants of the blaze, and perhaps concluded that they had rescued the Saint from burning. He was too modest to explain the truth till Sulpicius got it from him. But again, there *is* a chance

for another version, and for some feeling on the part of the hosts who had almost been burned out of house and home in return for their efforts to make the bishop comfortable on a cold night.

Towards the end of his life, Martin found himself at odds with most of his fellow bishops. I think we must commend him for his dissent. It arose over the case of Priscillian, the Spanish heretic. The nature of Priscillian's heresy—formerly a matter of much debate, became less obscure by the finding, not many years ago, of one of his writings. Priscillian was rightly enough condemned, and most unwisely condemned to death by an ecclesiastical court at which the Emperor Maximus presided. It is the first case in history when a man was killed by order of the Church for wrong opinions. Martin was not infected with the heresy of the accused, but he rightly objected to the severity of the punishment. He courageously took the emperor to task and warned him that he was simply preparing the halo of martyrdom for Priscillian, as indeed proved to be the case. Martin's remonstrances were of no avail, and Priscillian with some of his faithful followers was put to death. This was in 385 A.D. From that moment to the end of his life, Martin attended no meeting of the bishops of Gaul. It should be noted that St. Ambrose held exactly the same attitude in this matter. Sulpicius, naturally, has it in for the bishops. "If any one of these enemies," he remarks, "should read these lines, let him blush. If he gets mad at what he reads, he will confess the indictment, even if I happened to have meant somebody else."

Sulpicius devotes an entire letter to the death of Martin, or rather his passing from this life to immortality. The Devil put in an appearance at the last moment; he seemed a bit sorry to have the good man go. "Avaunt, thou bloody beast!" said the saint. "Thou shalt find no prey in me." Martin's face shone with a cheerful light. No spot or stain was on his body. Purer than crystal, whiter than milk, it seemed as though already transformed into that spiritual body promised to the faithful after the resurrection. The whole city, and many from other cities flocked to the funeral. Among them came a band of holy virgins, ashamed to cry their hearts out, as they should have liked to do, and concealing their grief in a sacred joy.

The judicial Gibbon sums up the career of St. Martin in a pithy sentence. "In the West, Martin of Tours, a soldier, a hermit, a

bishop, and a saint, established the monasteries of Gaul; and his eloquent historian challenges the deserts of Thebais to produce, in a more favourable climate, a champion of equal virtue." Even Gibbon, like Satan, can speak no ill of St. Martin. After his death, his fame was bound to shine the brighter, and the little idiosyncrasies to disappear.

Ergo postque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.

Sulpicius Severus, who knew Martin intimately, wrote the first memorial, in the shape of a *Vita*, three letters, and a book of dialogues on monasticism. The *Vita Sancti Martini* immediately became one of the best selling books of the age. It was known all over Italy and Illyria and of course Gaul. One of the speakers in the *Dialogues* declares that he found it everywhere in his travels through Egypt far up the Nile. Poets followed in the train of Sulpicius, particularly our friend the troubadour, Fortunatus, who wrote his epic on the Saint at the request of Gregory of Tours.

Not only poetry but architecture enshrined the memory of St. Martin. Gregory of Tours mentions monasteries and basilicas erected in his honour in France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal; some of these are celebrated by Fortunatus in special poems. Nor was Great Britain backward in reverencing him. Churches of St. Martin abounded in England, and St. Ninian erected to him the first stone church in Scotland, *Candida Casa*, in Galloway. Scotland recognized the celebrity of the saint by making the anniversary of his death one of the quarter-days (four days in the year) when rents are paid—Scotland could perhaps give no greater compliment to anybody. November 11 is also a great day for the Tourangeaux. The goose makes fine eating at that time, and hence the goose became the emblem of St. Martin. And as snow may fall as early as that day, snow is still called in France St. Martin's mantle; he is still casting off the cloak of his charity as before.

St. Martin, the apostle of the poor, was reverenced, even in his own lifetime, by lords and kings. The honorary canons of his abbey at Tours came to include the archbishop of Cologne, the earls of Douglas, the counts of Flanders, Dunois, and Angoulême, and since the time of Hugh Capet (987), the Kings of France were likewise Abbots of Tours. From their fear of the miraculous power of St.

Martin, certain of the Merovingian kings refrained from imposing a tribute on Tours, and from Clovis to Philippe Auguste (1179), the city had the right of coinage. King Chilperic, in spite of his advanced views on theology, was very much in awe of the Saint. During his controversy with his brother Guntram, the King of Burgundy, he addressed a letter to St. Martin in some anxiety to find whether it would be too much of a sacrilege to extract Guntram from the basilica in case the latter took refuge there. Baudigilus the Deacon, placed the letter, with a blank sheet for an answer, on the tomb of the Saint, but Martin very properly refused to notice such correspondence as that. I might multiply indefinitely these tokens of the immortal influence of a sainted man. The matter may be summed in the words of Odo of Cluny in the tenth century. "Even now," he says, "when love has grown cold, crowds of pilgrims go to that sacred place in Tours, so that it may rightly be said of that same Martin, that all the world longs to look upon his face" (*cuius vultum desiderat universa terra*).

As we reflect on the royal history of the city of Tours, its adsorption of wealth and beauty, and then go back to the simple purity and poverty of St. Martin's life, we may regard this fair city as a fulfilment of the precept of the Gospel, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added unto you." Its history is symbolized by one of its churches, which, built in the twelfth century on the site of a church dating from St. Gatian, received the name of Notre-Dame-la-Pauvre; but when the humble structure was transformed during the Renaissance into something more worthy of the Blessed Virgin, it received a new name, Notre-Dame-la-Riche. And if, as I have endeavoured to show, Tours has always basked in an atmosphere of beauty, this may be due in no small degree to the refinement and simplicity of taste that would spring from constant meditation on the beauty of a holy life, on the character, real and idealized, of the blessed Martin.

WOODBROOKE STUDIES.

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS OF CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC AND GARSHŪNI

By A. MINGANA.

WITH INTRODUCTIONS

By RENDEL HARRIS.

Fasc. 1.

(i) *A Treatise of Barṣalībi against the Melchites.*
(ii) *Genuine and Apocryphal Works of Ignatius of Antioch.*

INTRODUCTIONS.

By RENDEL HARRIS.

I.

A Treatise of Bar Ṣalibi against the Melchites.

WE have been advised by our Master (whose name is Peace and whose admonitions are all of the nature of Benedictions) that we ought not to waste our time gathering grapes of thorns or searching for figs among thistles; his words and warnings, no doubt, include in their scope our literary occupations as well as our theological studies or our philanthropic activities. Here, as elsewhere, wasted time and unremunerative labour are under His ban; and it may, therefore, well be asked whether it is wise to spend our slender residue of years over extinct literatures, forgotten writers and churches that are near to disappearance (ἐγγὺς ἀφανισμοῦ, as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews would say, in view of the inveterascence which came under his own observation).

We have before us a treatise by one who was once a great leader in the religious life and thought of the Syrian Church; but his name

is scarcely known in the West, and the church of which he was the leader has practically perished, its literature has ceased and has become the dryest of dry roots ; persecution has accomplished a disintegration which piety was insufficient to prevent. How many people know, or care to know, about Bar Ṣalibi and his writings ? Why should we try to recall the author or search the dust heap of his literary remains for grains of possible gold ?

When we have asked ourselves that question, there is one direction in which we immediately receive an encouraging response. Bar Ṣalibi was not only a great ecclesiastic in a church that had passed its zenith, he was also a great scholar in the time of decline of the Syriac literature, and being a scholar as well as an administrator, he had a great library, which he knew how to use as well as to value. Alas ! that it has perished ! It had many ancient works of great worth, not only the original writings of Syrian fathers, but early translations made from Greek writers which have disappeared in the West. For instance, it is almost certain that he had a copy of the *Diatessaron* or *Gospel Harmony* of Tatian, to which he refers and from which he quotes ; he had also a copy of a work of Hippolytus of Rome, called *Heads against Gaius* which was lost in the West ; its value can be inferred from its theme when the heads of the contention referred to are defined. There was a certain Gaius, who in the second or third century exercised his critical faculties, exactly as scholars are doing in the twentieth Christian aeon, over the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, and its irreconcilability with the authorship of the Apocalypse. Bar Ṣalibi gives us many quotations from the lost Gaius, and helps us to see that this early devotee of Higher Criticism was not, as Lightfoot supposed, a mere phantom, a creation by Hippolytus of a straw-man for subsequent demolition, but a real man of flesh and blood, with a powerful intellectual apparatus attached to his anatomy.

The greatest of Bar Ṣalibi's works, both in compass and in variety is his commentary on the Scriptures covering the whole space from Genesis to Revelation, and filled with patristic matter both Eastern and Western. Complete copies are very rare, and we have the good fortune to possess the whole in one of our Woodbrooke MSS. It was this commentator's work that first drew the attention of Western scholars ; the portion of the commentary which deals with the Four Gospels was done into Latin by Dudley Loftus, in the seventeenth

century, from a MS. in Trinity College, Dublin ; and in recent times the commentary on the Apocalypse, Acts and Catholic epistles, and in part the Gospels has been edited by Sedlaçek in the series of *Scriptores Syri*. If we may judge from the parallel case of his successor Bar Hebraeus, there will, before long, be many theses presented for doctor's degrees in German Universities, from the commentaries of Bar Ṣalibi.

The treatise which we present in the following pages has no special scriptural interest ; it is ecclesiastical rather than Biblical ; but it has a value of its own, inasmuch as the controversy which it reflects throws a good deal of light on the relations of the Greek and Eastern churches in Bar Ṣalibi's own day. It will bring vividly before us the facts of the subdivision of the Syrian churches and its three branches, in the days before the Roman church had invaded the area, and, in the interests of unity, made three divisions into six. We shall have before us the Nestorian or East Syrian Church with its God-and-Man doctrine of Christ, its noble protest against the deification of the Blessed Virgin, and its unparalleled record in the Mission fields of the far East ; next to them we shall have the Jacobite or West Syrian Church with its God-Man Christology, or as it is called by the wise, its Monophysite theology, its exaltation of the Virgin to celestial rank, and its defect of missionary zeal. Between the two lies a slender group of Syrian believers who have succumbed to the claims of the Greek theology of Antioch and Constantinople, securing their orthodoxy on the one hand by the acceptance of the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, which made other Syrian churches excommunicate on one side or the other, and at the same time obtaining protection as well as patronage by attachment to the State church and the Imperial city. They are known as Melchites, or Royalists, and if few in number and confined to Palestine and North Syria for the most part, are an aggressive minority with the Ruling State and Dominant Greek Church at their back.

We shall not hear much of the Nestorians in our tract ; they are too far East to be troublesome or troubled ; it is the little Melchite community that provokes the controversy reflected in the following pages of Bar Ṣalibi ; the little man that is trying to put its arms round its big brother, and to annex him ; in reality a half-anonymous monk, one Rabban 'Isho', who seems to have been reconciled to the Greek Church and its theology and rituals, and who will have the great Bar Ṣalibi in his embrace, and will prove to him that he is both insignificant

and wrong, a terrible combination. We shall see presently the chief points of the appeal ; but it is as well to be forewarned, lest disappointment ensue. The matters discussed will not strike us as being of any great importance. Probably the reader will say, as he watches the two dogs over their bone of contention (as indeed happens commonly in ecclesiastical strife), that, if this is Christianity, then I have little chance of being a Christian. The trivialities of ritual will have proper attention, the supposed decencies of liturgical usage and the like ; we shall know all about the war, and what they killed (or excommunicated) each other for. When we have finished our study, we can set the infinitely little on one side, and estimate the value of what is left. We shall probably be impressed with the adroitness of Bar Ṣalibi, but still more with his noble Christian spirit and temper, worthy of the Ṭatriarch of half the East ; and, even if we do not feel drawn to his Monophyite doctrine, we shall be glad that he held it too tenaciously and too intelligently to be allured to its abandonment, by the bait of a personal attachment to, and promotion in a State church, which he knew to be a focus of increasing impurity, and political corruption.

Now let us very briefly analyse the discussion of which Bar Ṣalibi's portion is before us. Rabban 'Isho' has written to Bar Ṣalibi, a reunion tract to which the latter replies in ten chapters. The first condition of re-union is that the Jacobites must learn how to cross themselves with two fingers, as do the Greeks and Latins ; and they must give up the practice of crossing themselves with one finger, which is a dangerous illustration of the Monophysite doctrine. They must also change the direction in which the crossing is exhibited, and no longer operate from left to right. Further, in making such changes, Bar Ṣalibi will find that he has gone over to the majority. The suggestion provokes a noble protest from Bar Ṣalibi : "May we not be in the right with two or three ?" The discussion is continued over one finger or two fingers, and right-to-left or left-to-right crossing. It becomes very tedious, but the tedium is relieved by the theological implication. A spirited reply is made to the question whether Bar Ṣalibi really believes the Greeks to hold the doctrine of two natures in Christ. Whether they believe in two natures in Christ or not, they believe most assuredly in serving two masters, Truth and Untruth. From Bar Ṣalibi's point of view, that is the real heresy. He tells a tale of a philosopher, who,

like the Vicar of Bray in the popular English song, changed his faith with every successive king. But, at last, unlike the profane Vicar, he realized that one must not change one's faith with the colour of the times, and besought people to "Pity the salt that has lost its savour!" The argument over the two natures is resumed. Rabban 'Isho' is at his best when he argues for the comprehension of inconsistent beliefs in one corporate body; did not the Apostle tell us not to judge another man's servant? Did he not say "Pray for one another," and not "Anathematize one another"?

Bar Ṣalibi has great reply to this seducing doctrine; he points out that the Court Party at Constantinople do not practise the toleration which they invoke; they expel our people from their city, burn their books, and suppress our Meeting-places. Away from the city, they rebaptize our people as heretics whom Rabban 'Isho' proposes to annex as believers. And such is their doctrine of toleration and the persons to whom it is applied, that, suppressing the Jacobites, they have actually permitted the Moslems to build a Mosque in the city. One may judge the value of their charity, by the range of its application. It passes by the Syrian Christian and embraces the Moslem unbeliever.

Bar Ṣalibi goes on to point out that, although it is inconsistent on the part of the Melchites and their friends to curse and bless in this way, yet after all the power and faculty of judgment is Christian, and it follows that there is also in the Church a power of excommunication. St. Paul is clear on the right of anathema. A spirited defence is made of the Jacobite position from the side of Ecclesiastical History. Rabban 'Isho' proceeds in favour of his doctrine that Christians are not to judge Christians, but that it is better to live at peace with everybody. Bar Ṣalibi now turns the tables on his adversary; he discloses the state of morals in the Imperial City and in the prominent church of the city, and shows what peace with anybody and everybody means. He has now taken the Puritan position, and refuses fellowship with murderers, adulterers, liars, and thieves.

The light that is turned on the church of Constantinople is a fierce light indeed. He talks of an emasculated clergy, and of adulterous and vicious practices which naturally are associated with such contraventions of nature. "Like priest, like people;" the city is full of outrage and villany.

The argument now turns to the order of the Liturgy and the ex-

quisite arrangement made by the Greeks for lections and for the tones to which the psalms and hymns are sung; how beautiful to see such universal order and harmony!

Bar Ṣalibi has a good deal to say on these matters, but he carefully points out that the church was antecedent to its musical services, and that the creed was before the metrical canons. In the beginning they had only the reading and interpretation of the Scriptures. The use of lustful melodies had not arrived. The Sirens had not come into the church. It was better to preach, teach, and convert, than to invent melodies like the Sirens, bray like asses, sing like nightingales or swans, and then finish up the day with such feasting as makes the occasion of sin.

The glory of the new Rome is now emphasized by the Melchite. He quotes an apocryphal prophecy of Jeremiah about the Latter House, and the Latter City. This prophecy, he says, refers to Constantinople. Bar Ṣalibi disputes his text, and denies his interpretation. Who goes to this supposed New Jerusalem to worship? They go there to grub, and to buy and sell. Do they boast of their sanctities and relics, the rod of Moses and the ark in which it was laid, the picture of Christ on Veronica's handkerchief and the Virgin's robe, the right hand of John the Baptist, which they use in consecrations, etc. Bar Ṣalibi makes short work of these relics and the use to which the Greeks put them.

The argument now passes over to the question of authority in the Church: according to Rabban 'Isho', there is primacy in the church, and that primacy has been located by God with the Greeks. There is a prescription against Christians, just as there is against heretics. We were there before you.

Bar Ṣalibi wonders why, from this point of view, the Jews were displaced. He returns to his argument for the sanctity of two or three in the name of Truth. The argument now turns on the power and wealth which God has given to the Greeks, Mammon being called in as the chief witness to the divine election of the Greeks, and *per contra* of the divine reprobation (relatively) of the poverty-stricken Syrians. Bar Ṣalibi has little difficulty in proving that

> "Gold and Grace did never yet agree!
> Religion always sides with poverty!"

Mammon the prosperous leaves the witness box, and Lazarus and a crowd of poor folks occupy it. Bar Ṣalibi comes into the box himself and holds up the Gospel. The case for the social and wealthy Mammon collapses. The argument is varied now from wealth to numbers. You Jacobites are very few; a handful in Edessa, another handful in Melitene. Evidently they have been uprooted by God, and have lost their first acceptance and favour. It is otherwise with the Greeks, who are a prickly shrub that bears a beautiful rose.

Bar Ṣalibi wishes to have a further definition of the rose of the Greeks. In what sense does Constantinople blossom like the rose? Is it their elaborate liturgy? The true rose is meditation and prayer, holiness, chastity, perfection. Does the Greek shrub bear these? A further discussion is made on the sign of the Cross, and on the addition which the Syrians make to the Trisagion of the words "who was crucified for us." The Greeks interpret the Trisagion of the Trinity, Sanctus es Deus (= the Father), Sanctus es omnipotens (= the Son), Sanctus es immortalis (= the Spirit)? The Syrians refer all three classes of the Trisagion to the Son, and can, therefore, properly add "qui crucifixus es pro nobis."

It is rather difficult to follow the argument which Bar Ṣalibi makes for the Monophysite use of the Trisagion *plus* the added phrase *qui crucifixus es pro nobis*.

It is an interesting study to observe how the Trisagion came to be regarded as a definition of the Trinity, and so to be inconsistent with the addition *qui crucifixus es pro nobis*. In the first instance it was Jesus and his Glory that were sought for in the sixth chapter of Isaiah, while the same chapter yielded the convincing anti-Judaic testimony in regard to the blinded eyes and hardened hearts of the chosen people. Of the antiquity of this testimony there can be no doubt, seeing it is employed by Jesus, according to the Gospel of Mark (Mark iv. 12) and by Paul in the closing sentences of the Acts of the Apostles, according to Luke (Acts xxviii. 26, 27). In the Fourth Gospel, we have this testimony expanded by the statement that "Isaiah said this when he saw his Glory and spake of him." This can only mean that there has been an identification of Jesus with the Lord Sabaoth or, in a sense that is common in the Targums, with the Divine Glory. Thus it was not the Trinity that the early Christians looked for in the

Trisagion, but Jesus in Glory. In that sense it was quite proper to add "qui crucifixus es pro nobis." The addition could be made without any risk of a charge of Patripassianism or Pneumatopassianism. But what might be good theology in the first stratum of the deposit of belief might be quite the opposite when a further plane of theological definition had been reached. Bar Ṣalibi retains what appears to be an early position in Christology ; it may, however, be doubted whether the Monophysites consistently did the same. In a Liturgy attributed to Ignatius, which Renaudot published, and which is supposed to have Monophysite leanings, we find the following Trinitarian interpretation and use of the Trisagion :

> Sanctus enim es, Deus Pater,
> Sanctus etiam unigenitus Filius tuus
> Sanctus etiam Spiritus tuus.

We cannot, however, infer that in this Liturgy there once stood the ascription of *crucifixus* along with the adoration of the Seraphim. We will hand Bar Ṣalibi over to the students of liturgiology and see what they will make of him. There is no doubt more to be said on the matter, in proportion as we know less.

His concluding appeals to the Greeks to cease from persecuting the Syrians and the Armenians, to whom they are doing more harm than the Turks themselves, are written in an excellent spirit and like a true father in Israel. He concludes by a challenge to his opponents generally to meet him in a public discussion, when he proposes to clear up any remaining difficulties. We do not know whether this debate ever came off ; *a priori* we should have our doubts of its success ; in fact, the greater the success, the less in many cases the actual good resulting. Nothing so much narrows and dries up the heart as controversy does ; it must be admitted, however, that no controversial writer shows less sign of the threatened narrowness and dryness than our good Syrian father.

II.

Genuine and Apocryphal Works of Ignatius of Antioch.

The above treatise is followed by some stray documents, which profess to be related in some way to the person of Ignatius of Antioch, the martyr bishop of that great city. Around his name,

as in the parallel case of Clement of Rome, there accumulated so much spurious matter, in the shape of interpolations and additions, that it is not to be wondered at, if in the first ages of the Renaissance of Criticism, doubts should have arisen whether any of the Ignatian matter could be referred to his time, place, or person. In our own time the author of *Supernatural Religion*, Mr. W. R. Cassels, declared roundly that "the whole of the literature ascribed to Ignatius is, in fact, such a tissue of fraud and imposture, . . . that even if any small original element exist referrible to Ignatius, it is impossible to define it"; and made Dr. Lightfoot very angry by his statement.

We are afraid that the contributions which we are making to Ignatian literature will have to be classed with the Ignatian Apocrypha, rather than with what Lightfoot shows to be canonical Ignatiana. Our first document, for instance, professes to be an actual epistle of Ignatius, who is carefully defined, against misunderstanding or possible confusion with later Patriarchs of his name, by the titles which belong to the first of the line, the designation of him as the *God-bearer* or the punning Syriac title of *Nurāna*, or the *Fiery* = *Ignatius*. Even if the epistle should be condemned contemptuously as an obvious product of a later rhetorician, we shall be able to show that there are traces of genuine Ignatian expressions in the text. This leads us to the reflection that a possible motive for the composition, assuming it to be spurious, lies in the undoubted fact that a genuine letter, and perhaps more than a single letter, from Ignatius to the Church at Antioch, is actually missing. The proof of this is interesting and fairly complete.

In writing to the Church at Philadelphia, Ignatius remarks that report has reached him that matters had taken a favourable turn in the Church at Antioch: he begs the Philadelphians to appoint *an ambassador to take a message* of congratulation to the Antiochenes. This must mean a written communication either from Ignatius or from the Philadelphian Church. The following is the text of the passage:—

Ign., *ad Philad.*, c. 10.

"Seeing that in answer to your prayer and to the tender sympathy which ye have in Christ Jesus, it hath been reported

to me that the Church which is in Antioch of Syria hath peace, it is becoming for you, as a Church of God, to appoint a deacon to go thither as God's ambassador, that he may congratulate them when they are assembled together, and may glorify the Name."

Ignatius goes on to say that the good news had been brought to him by Philo, a deacon from Cilicia and by Rhaius Agathopus, who had followed him from Syria. Lightfoot suggests, from the language of Ignatius' letter to the Church at Smyrna, that he had already left Smyrna when the messengers from Antioch arrived, and that they then followed him to Troas. Assuming this to be the case, it is almost unthinkable that Philo and his companion should have had no letter to carry back from Ignatius himself, or that Ignatius should have advised the churches to which he was writing to despatch messengers and congratulatory messages on their own account, while he himself remained silent. There must be a letter or letters from Ignatius to Antioch, whether the Philadelphians and Smyrnaeans assisted and joined in the correspondence or not. The natural thing to happen would be that Philo and Rhaius should immediately turn back and carry with them the felicitations of the bishop to his own Church. Other communications require time and special official messengers. The message to the Smyrnaeans from Ignatius is as follows :—

Ign., *ad Smyrn.*, c. 11.

"Your prayer sped forth unto the Church which is in Antioch of Syria . . . it is meet that your Church should appoint for the honour of God, *an ambassador of God*, that he may go as far as Syria, and congratulate them because they are at peace, and have recovered their proper stature, and their proper bulk hath been restored to them. It seemed, to me, therefore, a fitting thing that ye should send *one of your own people with a letter*, that he might join with them in giving glory for the calm which by God's will had overtaken them, and because they were already reaching a haven through your prayers."

Similar advice is given to Polycarp, as the bishop of Smyrna, and the suggested ambassador from Church to Church is described playfully as God's courier : the following is the passage :—

Ign., *ad. Polyc.*, c. 7.

> "Seeing that the Church which is in Antioch of Syria hath peace, as it hath been reported to us, through your prayers, I myself also have been the more comforted, since God hath banished my care. . . . It becometh thee, most blessed Polycarp, to call together a goodly council, and to elect *some one among you*, who is very dear to you, and zealous also, who shall be fit *to bear the name of God's courier*,—to appoint him, I say, that he may go to Syria, and glorify your zealous love unto the glory of God."

It appears, then, that two separate embasssies, and two separate letters are asked for by Ignatius. It is out of the question to suppose that he had himself nothing to say to the Church at Antioch. What he did say has disappeared.

Now what was the matter at Antioch, for it is clear that there has been a storm either in the Church or against it?

Lightfoot takes it for granted that the persecution which made Ignatius its central object, had also affected the Church. In consequence many of the members had relapsed, and now there was good news of their return. Philo and his companions were, says Lightfoot, "doubtless the bearers of the good news that the persecution at Antioch had ceased." This may be the correct explanation, but there are some things which suggest that there was trouble inside the Church as well as outside it and around it. Lightfoot further remarks that the Church at Antioch "had been previously weakened and diminished by the dispersion and defections consequent on persecution." That would explain the reference to the restored dimension of the Church; but we must keep our eyes open for an alternative reason for the diminution of the Church membership. The document which we are here printing is an exhortation to priests and deacons to practise personal piety and not to be led away into immoral actions. It may be nothing more than a general exhortation addressed to all clergy; but there are some passages in it which seem to suggest an individual priest who has fallen into sin; the supposed letter suddenly becomes in the highest degree eloquent and personal. An appeal is made which begins with:

> "Who envied you, O chaste one, and made you a fornicator?"

and the supposed faithless priest is addressed as

> "You dear and beloved ram who became the prey of a wolf!"

The person addressed has become a pagan, and is now "a mediator to idols:" and so on, with much eloquence and force of personal appeal, which the reader must estimate for himself. If it should be judged that the supposed faithless priest to whom the appeal is made has a real existence, the possibility will have to be reckoned with that there has been a factious and perhaps an immoral person among the leadership of the Antiochene Church, who may even be a rival and contemporary of Ignatius himself. This is, of course, a speculation which may not find support. In that case we should fall back upon Lightfoot's theory, that the persecution under Trajan had been general, as well as personal and particular.

Now let us turn to the text of our document and see what we can pick up in the way of Scriptural references and possible local allusions. First of all we notice that in one passage, the writer quotes the Gospel in a harmonized form. At the beginning of the letter the impious priest is compared to the salt that has lost its savour. "If the salt has lost its savour, wherewith shall it be seasoned? It is thenceforth good for nothing, neither for the land nor the dung, but it is cast out and trodden underfoot by men." This is a harmonization of Matthew and Luke. If we examine the Tatian Harmony, either in the Arabic of Ciasca, or in the old Dutch version of Dr. Plooij, we shall find that we have an independent harmonization, which does not appear to be derived from the Syriac of Tatian.

The next thing we notice is that he is acquainted with one of the greatest of all Syriac writings, the *Odes of Solomon*. He opens his address to the Antiochene clergy, by appealing to them to

> "wipe off the dirt from your hearts."

This is almost exactly the language of the beautiful 13th Ode of Solomon:

> "Wipe the dirt from off your faces,
> And love his holiness and clothe yourselves therewith."

There is one expression in our tract which is distinctly Ignatian: the writer says:

> "We cannot avoid answering for all those he confided to our care; the souls redeemed by the innocent *blood of God*, and he gave us a covenant that we should worship him and shepherd his flock."

At first sight this looks like Monophysite language, but we remember that it is also Ignatian. In the epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians, in the opening chapter, the saint speaks of the Ephesian Church as

ἀναζωπυρήσαντες ἐν αἵματι Θεοῦ,

"kindling into living fire" (so Lightfoot) "by the blood of God."

There is, however, an objection to the description of the term "blood of God," as Ignatian. It is well known that it is implied in the language of St. Paul to the elders of the Church at Ephesus (Acts xx. 28) who are admonished to "feed the Church of God, which He hath purchased with His own blood;" and on comparing the language of our tract, we see the reflection of the "shepherds of the flock" to which St. Paul refers. So it is just as likely that the expression is Pre-Ignatian as Ignatian, and perhaps we ought to describe both the Ignatian expression and the language of our tract as Pauline.

On the other hand we have the similar expression in the opening of the Syriac Didascalia, where Christians are spoken of as "partakers in the sprinkling of the pure and precious blood of the Great God, Jesus the Christ." This has a very Monophysite appearance, and shows, at all events, that the term "Blood of God" is not theologically colourless.

The next point that interests us, is that our supposed Ignatius is made responsible for the Wednesday and Friday fasts of the early Church, and the question must be asked whether there is an element of truth in the suggestion. It is not negatived by the observation that our document has the week-day fasts in an accentuated form, at least for the clergy the problem is to determine if the fasts in question are possibly of Antiochian origin. Of their antiquity there is no doubt, for they are in the *Teaching of the Apostles:* nor can it well be denied that they are originally anti-Judaic, since the *Teaching* says: "Let not your fasts be with the hypocrites, for they fast Monday and Thursday, but do you fast Wednesday and Friday." The hypocrites are here the Jews and Judaisers. No reason appears for the choice

of the particular days; nor does there appear in the Ignatian letters any reference of the kind; what does appear, however, is the anti-Judaic displacement of the Sabbath by the Sunday, as Christians are described as "no longer Sabbatizing, but living with the Lord's Day in place of the Sabbath." Thus the anti-Judaic element in the *Teaching* has its parallel in Ignatius.

At this point a curious parallel comes to light, for which we must now turn to our second document, the supposed *Canon of Ignatius*. In this Canon there is a clear indication of the establishment of the weekly fasts, with an anti-Judaic reference. For instance, we have the curious statement that "we observe the night of Friday, because in it our Lord was seized *by the Jews*." It is further stated that on the night of Saturday they broke the legs of the robbers, in order that the Sabbath might not begin for them (which must mean the Jews), and that they might not be condemned in the eyes of the law (which must mean the Jewish law). Our Canon is, therefore, anti-Judaic, like the *Teaching of the Apostles* and the Ignatian letters. It cannot, however, be derived directly from the *Teaching*. Nor can it be derived directly from the seventh book of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, which works over the instructions of the *Teaching*. For here the anti-Judaic reference has disappeared, and the fast-days are kept in commemoration of the Betrayal and the Crucifixion. There is, however, some similarity of treatment; each writer has the problem of explaining the change in the fast-days from the Jewish customs, but the explanations are not the same. We conclude that the Canonist is working on an independent line, and we cannot confirm his reference to Ignatius as his authority.

Now let us see what can be made out of the explanations furnished by the Canonist. First of all we have the Last Supper referred to the night of Wednesday in the Passion week; next we are told that our Lord was seized by the Jews on the night of Friday; then that he descended into Sheol on the night of Saturday. We are to observe (which must in this connection mean, we are to fast) on Wednesday night and Friday night, and we are not to observe (that is, we are not to fast) on Saturday. There is much confusion here, which cannot be got rid of by reading "vigil" for "night," and making the vigil anticipate the next day. For the Last Supper cannot be put on Thursday, in this hypothesis, without putting the arrest on Saturday, and the descent

into Hades on Sunday. The arrest of our Lord and his binding by the Jews must take place the same day as the Last Supper. To date the Last Supper on Wednesday by the Oriental hypothesis of making the day begin at sunset, would require that the Supper took place before sundown on Thursday, which is absurd. We cannot make the "night of Wednesday" into the "afternoon of Thursday." So we conclude that the Canonist has lost his reckoning; his statements are inconsistent with the evangelical tradition.

The reader will have noticed a reference to the patronage of Simon and John of the Church of Antioch, to which Ignatius is supposed to be writing. These two apostles, Peter and John, are invited to join in the lamentation over an apostate priest. It is certainly peculiar to have St. John associated with St. Peter in the presidency of the Church at Antioch. But there can be no mistake as to the intention of the writer, since, a little later, the unfaithful steward is addressed as a brother of Simon and John. Where shall we find parallel statements connecting these two apostles with the Church of Antioch?

While these pages were passing through the press two more Ignatiana were brought to light. The first is another recension of the Canon which we have discussed; the second is a genuine fragment of the Epistle to the Ephesians, which does not appear in the collection of Lightfoot. So we have one more fragment of the lost Syrian Version recovered.

PREFACES, TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

By A. MINGANA.

(i) A Treatise of Barṣalībi against the Melchites.

Prefatory Note.

I GIVE in the following pages the translation, accompanied by a critical apparatus, of a very rare treatise of Dionysius Barṣalībi, the well-known West Syrian or Jacobite writer who died in A.D. 1171. The treatise is indeed so rare that not even a reference to it is found in Baumstark,[1] and no acquaintance with its existence is shown by the early Syrian bibliographer who wrote a complete list of Barṣalībi's works.[2]

The treatise is in the form of a discussion with, or rather a long address to, a certain Rabban 'Ishō', a West Syrian monk of some importance, who had evidently shown some leniency towards the Melchites, and was about to leave, or had already left, his own community to join them. He had written a long letter to Barṣalībi on this subject, and it is this lost letter that has given birth to the present treatise. Barṣalībi analyses verbatim his opponent's missive, and refutes it. As the author does not give any clear indication where his own sentence ends and that of his adversary begins, I have experienced some difficulty in following his argumentation; but I believe that I have succeeded in overcoming the obstacles thrown in our way in this matter, but not without sacrificing to the altar of clearness my predilection for literal translations.

I have, therefore, been compelled to mark in the translation Rabban 'Ishō"s text by the words: "You write" which are not in the text, and here and there I have added words and even complete phrases in order to make it easier for the English reader to follow the author's too concise, too disconnected, and sometimes obscure reasoning.

[1] *Gesch. der Syr. Lit.*, pp. 295-298.
[2] Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, ii, 210-211.

The "Greeks" assailed by Barṣalībi are better known to us under the name of Melchites, who in the West Syrian Orthodox Church are generally styled "Chalcedonians," although the appellation "Melchites" is also very often ascribed to them.

The Syriac MS. in which the treatise is found constitutes an integral part of my own collection of Syriac MSS., preserved in Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham, where it has the class-mark Syriac MS. Mingana 4. It was copied in A.D. 1895 by Deacon Matthew, from a very ancient MS. preserved in Ṭūr 'Abdīn, near the monastery of Dair uz-za'farān, the residence of the monophysite Patriarchs of Antioch. Because of the rarity of the MS. I have deemed it advisable to give a complete facsimile of its text, and refer in the footnotes of the translation to some lexicographical and grammatical errors made either by the first or by the second copyist. An index of proper names will be found at the end of the work.

Translation.

We will further write the ten chapters composed by Dionysius, metropolitan of Amed, who is the illustrious Jacob Bar Ṣalībi, against Rabban 'Ishō'.

The humble Dionysius, the servant of God, offers you his greetings and his prayers, O Rabban 'Ishō'; may you be in the keeping of Providence!

Any work from which spring good and gain for the souls of both the speaker and the attentive hearer, is not to be hindered or silenced. These words we write at the beginning of our discourse to you, as we have read your conciliatory treatise which stands between truth and falsehood in order not to hurt anybody's feelings. In another place we will deal with the worldly questions that it raises. So far as the spiritual questions which give life to the souls are concerned, it is more advantageous to strive after undiluted truth and avoid ambiguity, especially in our dealings with those people who twist the facts and mix straw with corn, water with wine, and all kinds of impure alloys with gold. The Apostle of the Gentiles has said: "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good, and abstain from any form of evil."[1] See how Paul teaches us to prove and examine everything, and hold fast

[1] 1 Thes. v. 21-22.

that which is good before God, and flee from all bad things and false teaching, as from nests of snakes.

We are also shown how a man can learn with certitude where truth lies : he must either follow one who is universally acknowledged to be wise and learn little by little from him, as Philip taught the eunuch of the Queen of Sheba,[1] or he must read studiously the Books of the Spirit and acquire from them the knowledge of truth. He who believes that he has attained truth from hearsay, or from the ravings of a seducer, or from the sight of an occurrence that happens to be in harmony with his beliefs, does not lean on truth but on a broken reed, on a shadow only. But it is time now to embark on our subject.

Chapter I.

On the Sign of the Cross.

You wrote to us that neither from nature nor from any book did you learn to cross yourself with two fingers, but that you are following in this the habit of the Greeks, of the Franks, and of twenty-four other peoples such as the Iberians, Alans, Russians, Hungarians and others who cross themselves with two fingers. This, O Rabban 'Ishō', we will answer in the following manner :

An intelligent man like you should weigh his words in the balance of justice before uttering them. If you have not acquired a subject from a book, nor learned it from nature, the two sources which embrace all the universe, how then can you neglect the truth of both book and nature, and follow something that is not based on any real foundation ? The Book says : " Remove not the eternal landmark ; "[2] now if the landmark is nature and book, in rejecting them both we naturally trespass on the boundaries of truth. Christ did not destroy the law but fulfilled it,[3] and we[4] contend that we are not to follow nature and the law, but to step in strange paths ! Do we not fear then a rebuke from David who says : " When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with adulterers."[5] Among the peoples whom you have mentioned there is injustice,

[1] See Acts viii. 27. The author identifies Sheba with Ethiopia.
[2] Prov. xxii. 28 and xxiii. 10 (Peshiṭta).
[3] Cf. Matt. v. 17. [4] *Sic* Cod. [5] Ps. l. 18.

murder, immorality and many other abominations; should we follow them in these? Sound judgement forbids it. Even those people whom you have mentioned, if they do not prove the truth they hold from nature and book, no one will ever induce himself to listen to them, and their own followers will forsake them. But we who are right and possessors of the truth, will demonstrate to you that we are walking in the path of nature and book, and that is why we make the sign of the cross with one finger only.

First, nature teaches us that the cross to which Christ was attached was not composed of double pieces of wood stretched in its perpendicular and horizontal side, as a symbol to the two fingers used by the Greeks in crossing themselves, but had only one piece of wood on each side. Further, the rod of Moses which was a symbol of the cross, was one and not two like that symbolized by two fingers. Finally, the crosses made of silver, brass and wood, and those found on the walls are not fashioned by the peoples you mentioned in double perpendicular and horizontal lines, but in one line only as the symbol of one finger. These arguments from nature will suffice, and we will now enumerate the arguments from book.

That universal Doctor, John Chrysostom, clearly shows this in saying thus in the fifty-third discourse of his commentary on Matthew: "(Paul's saying) 'Ye are bought with a price,'"[1] signifies the price paid on your behalf, and it does not fit you to be the servants of any man. (Paul) alludes by the word "Price" to the cross; you should not make the sign of the cross with the finger in a simple way, but you should first make it with will and with great faith; and then if you print it in this way on your forehead, no vile demon will be able to prevail against you."[2] See how the Doctor speaks of one finger only and not of two or three. If we were to cross ourselves with two fingers he would have said "with the fingers" or "with two fingers." Further, when the Apostle Thomas wished to test the resurrection of the One who was crucified, he only desired to put his finger into the

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 23.

[2] Here is the whole passage: "*Pretio*, inquit, empti estis; *ne sitis servi hominum.* Cogita, inquit, pretium pro te numeratum, atque nullius hominis eris servus; pretium vero crucem vocat: neque enim simpliciter illam digito efformare oportet, sed prius voluntate et multa fide. Si hoc modo illam in facie tua depinxeris, nullus impurorum dæmonum contra te stare poterit." *Pat. Gr.*, lviii. 557.

print of the nails, because he said : "Except I put my finger into the print of the nails, I will not believe."[1] And when our Lord revealed Himself to him, He said, "Reach hither thy finger."[2] See how the Book mentioned one finger only in the first and the second instances, and not two or several.

From these we may learn that the act of making the sign of the cross upon oneself or upon the holy elements is not done with two fingers but with one only. The Greeks, however, who believe in two natures in Christ say : "We make the sign of the cross with two fingers because there are two natures in Christ." Against this we wrote at length in our controversial treatise against them ; here it will suffice us to say : If the natures in Christ are as separate from each other as two fingers are, they have no unity, and the Doctors of the Church who say that the Word was united to His flesh as fire is to iron, are in error. Further, two fingers, although separate from each other, are really one in substance (οὐσία), and thus, in the contention of the Greeks, the eternal Son of the Father would be one in substance with the flesh which is created and subject to time ; and this is blasphemy.

We will further rebut the Greeks as follows : the cross teaches us that Christ, the Son, was attached to it in the flesh, while in His divinity He was neither extended nor attached ; but with two fingers you show that He was extended on the cross and crucified in His two natures. You are thus Theopaschites, because with the human nature you crucify God also. As to us, we believe that as Christ is one, and the cross is one, the sign also of the cross is to be made with one finger only ; and this we have learned from both nature and book.

You write : "The sacrament of the sign of the cross consists in the Word of God who became flesh and came down from heaven to earth, and removed mankind from the left hand and darkness to the right hand and light."

We do not drive away darkness with light, as you write, because we make the sign of the cross from right to left ; everyone knows that darkness is the very antithesis of light, and that if the latter is mixed up in the former it becomes swallowed up in it in the same way as the bitterness of a little brackish water in a jug[3] of sweet water, or

[1] John xx. 25. [2] John xx. 27.
[3] Read *Mnaiḳitha* for *mainoḳtha*.

that of a little myrrh or wormwood in a considerable quantity of honey. Let us admit that light drives away darkness, how can the left hand drive away the right? Our Lord has said that He will set the sheep on His right hand and the goats on His left;[1] in this our Saviour demonstrated that the right cannot expel the left, but those who make the sign of the cross from right to left, move, out of their own free will, from the right hand to the left which is that of the goats, and are counted with the robber who was on our Lord's left. But see how in the consecration of the elements and in the final prayers of the service the Greeks make the sign of the cross like us, from left to right, and in this way they contradict themselves.

You wrote: "twenty-four peoples use two fingers," but your number did not reach even ten. Do not listen, therefore, to some deceivers who say that we have with us twenty-four peoples. Further, truth is not always with the majority. Consider that there are seventy different peoples, and that those who follow the gospel are less numerous than those who are still pagan; and no one pretends that because of their higher number, the pagans have greater right than we have. In the time of Abraham and Moses there was only one people, that of the Hebrews, who worshipped God, and the rest worshipped idols, and no one says that because of that the worshippers of idols had greater right than the single people of the Hebrews. This suffices for this chapter.

Chapter II.

Also on the Sign of the Cross.

You wrote: "What is the meaning of our making the sign of the cross with one finger? Could we possibly have greater right than all others? Christ ordered that every word should be established at the mouth of two or three witnesses,[2] and in our case there are more than three."

If your words are true, it follows than wherever there are several people holding an opinion, they have more truth than one people; and this leads us, as we wrote in the first chapter, to the assumption that the Gentiles had more truth than the Jews, and that Abraham was

[1] Matt. xxv. 33. [2] Matt. xviii. 16.

in error because he was the only one who worshipped God, and the numerous men, his contemporaries, who worshipped idols, were right. Our Lord's sentence: "At the mouth of two witnesses or three every word is established," has not the meaning that you attribute to it; it bears exclusively on the fact that the testimony of a single witness should not be accepted against a culprit, lest he should be testifying falsely against him out of spite; when, however, there are two or three witnesses, they could not testify against him in a biased way, but only truly and rightly.

You write: "Is it not more advantageous that a man should cross himself in beginning with the right side, which is the side of light, and then pass this light over his face and with it drive away darkness, than to cross himself from the side of darkness and pass it over his face?"

If darkness and light are defined by the right hand moving horizontally, tell me what is meant by the first act we do in crossing ourselves, which consists in moving our hand in a perpendicular way from our head downwards? You might say that the top movement means light and the bottom one darkness, and that a man first takes light and comes down to darkness, and then takes light again to another darkness. The Greeks would have thus two lights and two darknesses, and would begin with light and end with darkness. This theory of yours is not a happy one, and the single cross is not light in one of its horizontal sides and darkness in the other, but it is light in both of its sides. It is also advantageous that the end of all our works should be on the right hand, that is to say, good, and it is thus better to end the sign of the cross with the side of the right hand, and not with the side of the left which is, according to the words of our Lord, that of the goats.

Further, we maintain that the cross of the Greeks has not only two lines in its horizontal side, but four lines. In the first act of crossing themselves they form their cross from top to bottom with two fingers, and then in making the horizontal part of the cross, they form it, also with two fingers, from right to left, and finally they return backwards to the right. The horizontal part of their cross has then two lines, nay, even four lines, in counting the two fingers. Those who, as you put it, had driven away the darkness of the left by the light of the right, return now from the light right to the dark left, and take over its darkness which they carry to the right, so that they become involved

in thick darkness in both their right and left. If they were consistent with themselves, since they form their cross from right to left, they should have crossed themselves with the left hand, because in this way their cross would have been more natural and it would not have been necessary for them to move their hand twice over.

Our ecclesiastical historians are in accord with their ecclesiastical historians in what they wrote concerning the Emperor Constantine, that at the hour of the day in which the sun was hottest, he saw in heaven a column of light in the shape of a cross, on which there were the words "By this sign thou shalt conquer," and after the pattern which he saw he fashioned the cross. Now what do the Greeks say about that column? Was it in the shape of double columns, like the two fingers, or in the shape of one column? If in the shape of double columns, two of which stretched perpendicularly and two horizontally, why is not the fact mentioned in any ecclesiastical history? If the column of light was in the shape of one column only, corresponding with one finger, why should we not have greater right[1] than the Greeks? And why should we not make the sign of the cross on ourselves with one finger[2] only, and from left to right as we, and not as they, do?

In administering the baptism even the Greeks make the sign of the cross on the child with a collyrium-pencil which has one point only and not two points, which would correspond with the two fingers, and move also the instrument from left to right as we do, and not from right to left. Had they not done so in this case even their cross would not have been straight but twisted.

You write: "As we heard and saw, all the Fathers and Doctors whose names I mentioned, whether they be Frankish, or Egyptian, or Greek, make the sign of the cross with two fingers; and we have never heard that any of them has made it with one finger."

You have not attained yet the age of seventy years, and consequently you could not have seen Athanasius the Great, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, and others. We might believe you when you say that you *heard*, but who can believe you that you *saw?* You should not, therefore, have written that you *saw*. If you mean that you saw their books, how did you then write

[1] Read *Sharrirīnan* for *Sharririn* (copyist's inadvertence).
[2] Read *Ṣib'a* for *Ṣliba*.

previously that you had not learned this either from book or from nature? Is it because you forgot what you wrote previously that you assert now that all of them made the sign of the cross with two fingers? If you have heard and seen, tell us in which book and in which treatise? So far as we are concerned we have already quoted you John Chrysostom, the glory of the Greeks, who refutes them and corroborates us.

You write: "Since the Armenians profess one nature in Christ, why are they not ordered to make the sign of the cross with one finger only?"

Some of the Armenians make the sign of the cross with two fingers, some of them with three fingers, and some of them with all their hand, like the Franks. It is only those among them who are ignorant and mixed with the Greeks, who make the sign of the cross with two fingers; but who can hold a discussion with illiterate and insensible people, except those who wish to throw their pearls into the depth of the sea? Further, the Armenians did not remain united with us long enough to learn all the Christian sacramental customs; after having accepted the dogma of one nature in the Word that became flesh, they left us and went after their own. They are somewhat inconsistent with their belief; on the one hand they believe in one Lord, and in one nature in the Word who became flesh, and on the other they believe in two natures in Him, a proposition which they would readily reject, were they but told that it is implied in the act of making the sign of the cross with two fingers.

You write: "We who make the sign of the cross with two fingers, do we believe in two natures in Christ? God forbid that this should ever happen."

If you do not believe in two natures after the union, how then do you make the sign of the cross with two fingers? In your mouth you believe something,[1] and with your hand which makes the sign of the cross you believe something else. The Greeks at any rate assert that the two fingers symbolize the two natures in Christ. If this is not so, show us then the sacrament of the two fingers. How can you mix up two incompatible propositions in saying "We believe like the orthodox Syrians, and we make the sign of the cross like the Greeks?"

[1] Remove the *dalath* before *middaim*.

This amounts to saying, "We accept truth and untruth." No man can serve two masters;[1] if we have the truth with us, you cannot follow the others, and if the others have the truth, we are liars; and if you pretend that both of us are right, who will believe you? How can that section of Christians who believes in one nature that became flesh, and the other in two natures, and how can that section of them who makes the sign of the cross with one finger and the other who makes it with two fingers, be in harmony with each other and be equally right?

You write: "We should not reject the Greeks because they believe in two natures, since apart from us and the Armenians, and a few Franks, all Christians believe in two natures in Christ."

It is narrated that a philosopher used to change his faith with every rising king. When eventually he repented and realized that it was not good to forsake truth and change with the times, he wrote: "Pity the salt which has lost its savour." O brother, no one in your position should say that he does not reject the Greeks; if they are right and should not be rejected, your own people are, therefore, wrong and should be rejected; and if the Syrians are rejected, no one will believe you also, because you are a Syrian from us and not from our enemies; but tell us now, if you know, which are the two natures in which the Greeks believe? The Franks and some others call natures the Word God and the body with a soul which He united to Himself, but the Greeks think otherwise, and their story on this subject is a long one, and not even yet quite clear; if it ever becomes clear, I know and I am convinced that you will never accept any Melchite. Further, how did you assert that all Christians believe in two natures except us and the Armenians, while the Egyptians, Nubians, Abyssinians, the majority of the Indians,[2] and the country of Libya which in the time of Dioscorus was composed of one thousand and five hundred parishes,[3] accept the faith of St. Cyril and St. Dioscorus, and of the great Severus.

[1] Matt. vi., 24.

[2] The word *Indian* in the mouth of a West Syrian writer often designates the Himyarites, or Southern Arabs. See my *Spread of Christianity in India*, 1926, pp. 11-14.

[3] Lit. *thrones, chairs.* The word *Kursya* commonly refers to episcopal sees, but who could believe that there were 1500 bishoprics in Libya?

Even the Greeks when brought face to face with the words of Athanasius the Great and Cyril the Wise are put to shame and believe like them in one nature of the Word who became flesh ;[1] this is written in their books and they believe in it like ourselves, but they explain away the expression "one nature" and say afterwards "two natures" contrary to the teaching of the Doctors, and give a meaning of their own to the words used by Cyril the Great, and pretend that he really meant two natures, and this in spite of the fact that those Arabs and Persians of the East and the South who are Christians[2] understand like us the doctrine of one nature in the Word who became flesh, and they are known to be Arabs or Persians by the fact that they are not versed in any other language but Arabic and Persian. Let now the subject end here.

Chapter III.

On his hidden Falsehood that has been Exposed and on how he is a Protagonist of the Believers in two Natures.

You write : "Why should we have greater truth than all ? We do not agree with them in the matter of two natures, but we should not reject them and consider them as heretics."

See how this discloses your intention to favour those who differ from us in their faith. I will now ask you a question : Are the Syrians right or are they wrong ? If they are wrong, why do you not reject them completely ? And if they are right, why do you not reject the Chalcedonians ? If you refuse to believe in two natures, you should reject also the truth of the orthodox Syrians. As light is opposed to darkness, and good health to illness, so that they are mutually repellent and cannot remain concomitantly in one place, so also the one who believes in two natures in Christ after the union is opposed to the one who believes in one nature in the Word who became flesh. You will not contradict that the two are opposed to each other, how then do you pretend that you do not believe in two natures like them,

[1] *I.e.*, presumably in one Christ, in one Son. Neither in the fifth nor in the twelfth century had the Christological terms of *person* and *nature* both in Greek and in Syriac the fixed meaning that we give them in our days.

[2] There was a considerable number of Monophysites in West Persia, and a still more considerable one among the Arabs.

and at the same time not reject them? You are like the one who holds the two ends of a rope and is unable to climb up with any of them.

You write: "Why should we not accept them? The Apostle said: 'Who art thou that judgest the servant of another? To his own lord he standeth or falleth.'[1] He also said: 'Pray for one another,'[2] and he did not say 'anathematize.'"

Your words would have been very true, if only the Chalcedonians would listen to you. For your sake we shall compromise and accept them: but come now to Melitene which is not under their power and see how they tear at our people like wolves. Anyone who through his unstability and weakness falls (and joins them), they baptize again, and they openly call us[3] heretics and untruthful, and out of their own free will they do not allow anyone to enter their churches. I remonstrated several times with them, but because of their arrogance they did not desist. Were it not for a reason that I will not disclose, and for the fact that they would have been sneered at by outsiders, I would have revealed their falsehood, and they would have been despised by all; but mendacity often succeeds.

Now repair in your imagination to the city of their pride. You will see that it contains a mosque for the Mohammedans, but it has no church for the Syrians and the Armenians. Do they do this out of their good nature or out of their wickedness? By their actions they show that the faith of the Mohammedans is better than the orthodox faith of ours.

About a hundred years ago, in the time of Ignatius of Melitene, we had a church in Constantinople, but impelled by Satan they took possession of it, and their Patriarch of that time ordered our books that were in it and the church vestry, and the holy chrism, to be burnt in the middle of the bazaars. In that very night that Patriarch was struck by a sudden illness and lost his life. What do you say about these? Glory be to the one who deprived them of their power![4] If they had the power they would not have left a single Christian alive, as their fathers did in the times of yore.

As to the quotation that you brought forth to the effect "Who

[1] Rom. xiv. 4. [2] Cf. Col. i. 3, 9; iii. 1; Heb. xiii. 18.

[3] Possibly read *lan* for *laih*.

[4] Through the Mohammedan Arabs and Saljūḳs.

art thou that judgest the servant of another," it has not the significance that you attribute to it, and it has not been said of the heretics. If it were, we should not be allowed to bring an accusation against the Jews and the pagans, or to reprove the immoral people and the adulterers, or to punish the criminals, the sedition-mongers, the robbers, and the murderers. Will the Apostle come in these cases and tell us: "Who are you that judge these who are the servants of another?" but for the tranquillity of your conscience I am going to disclose for you the mind of the Apostle.

The Jews who had believed in Christ used to keep also the law of Moses, and not to eat the food that that law considered to be unclean; but the Gentiles who had believed in Christ used to eat everything. A disturbance arose on this account between Jewish Christians and Christians. Paul then rose, strong in truth, against the Jews who had believed, and he maintained that food does not bring men nearer to God nor farther from Him; why do you force, therefore, the Gentiles to observe the old law? and he further added: "He that is weak eateth herbs."[1] He meant by these words that as you Jews are weak in faith you distinguish between this and that food (as a weak stomach does) with regard to herbs, but he who is strong in faith eats everything and despises distinctions between foods; "let not him which eateth not judge the Christian that eateth, for God hath received him;"[2] that is to say, He has made him to be related to Him and not to the law;[3] you, therefore, O Jew, why do you judge him? He is the servant of God, how dare you then judge him? If he standeth, that is to say by faith, he is to his Lord and not to you; and if he falleth, as you believe, because he does not observe the legal distinction between the foods, he is also to his own Lord. This is in short terms the meaning of the sentence of the Apostle.

As to your other point, that we are commanded to pray for one another, it does not mean that we are commanded to pray for a man to go astray from the truth of the faith and walk in error; nor are we commanded to pray for this particular person in relation with that particular person, but only to pray in such general terms as: O God, call all men and bring them to Thyself. As to your saying "Paul

[1] Rom. xiv. 2. [2] Rom. xiv. 3.

[3] Put a *lamadh* before *namōsa*.

did not say: anathematize;" but Paul did say: "If somebody should preach unto you other than that which we preached unto you, let him be anathema."[1] What answer do you want us now to give to Paul? He said: "Let him be anathema," and you say that we should not anathematize.

Three hundred and eighteen bishops assembled once and defined the Catholic faith in the Father and the Son, and reached in the *Credo* as far as the passage "And in the Holy Ghost," and they anathematized Arius and Sabellius. Then one hundred and fifty others gathered together in Constantinople, completed the *Credo*, and said, "And in one Holy Ghost the Lord and vivifier of all, who proceeds from the Father," etc., till the end of the *Credo;* and they anathematized the Macedonians. Then again two hundred and fifty bishops assembled at Ephesus in the time of the Emperor Theodosius and of the Patriarch Cyril, but they did not write a new profession of faith nor did they add anything to the *Credo in unum Deum*, but they said that the faith of the two previous Councils was sufficient; and they enacted in the Synod a Canon of anathemas and curses against anyone who would introduce a new faith, or would add anything to it, or diminish anything from it; and after anathematizing Nestorius and his teachers,[2] they went back.

Then after a time the Emperor Marcian assembled that unholy Council of Chalcedon. The Fathers of it, however, did not follow in the steps of the Fathers who had preceded them, but through the pressure brought upon them by the wicked Emperor, and by his accursed wife, Pulcheria, and by other heretics who were present there, such as Theodoret, they trespassed against the anathema of the Council of Ephesus, and wrote a new *Credo* which begins: "We believe in the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, and in the incarnation of the Son." They thus made the Trinity a quaternity; and then they defined the two natures.

Now if the Greeks are anathematized, it is the Fathers of the first Council who anathematize them; what blame then attaches to us from it? Where did you hear in the faith of the ancients the mention of the two natures, which the Greeks have added? *Et Cetera.*

[1] Gal. i. 8.

[2] Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia.

Chapter IV.

On the wicked Rites and Habits of the Greeks.

Let us see what Rabban Isho' writes on this subject: "We (Syrians) constitute ourselves the judges of Christians; some of them we make pagans and some others heretics. What would be better for us to do would be to live in peace with everybody."

Peace is a very beautiful and praiseworthy thing, O honourable one, but not all peace; this is known from the sentence uttered by our Saviour; "I am come not to cast peace on the earth but sword; for I am come to set a father at variance against his son, and a daughter against her mother."[1] Learn, therefore, that peace with immoral passions and with the enemies of truth drives us away from God. The theologian[2] says: "A just war is better than a peace which separates from God." Examine well the saying of this Doctor who teaches us that peace with everybody is not advantageous.

Now who makes the Christians pagan except themselves? A pagan is much better than a[3] Christian who forsakes the true faith and follows strange religions, and is unjust, immoral, adulterous, a murderer, a liar, or a breaker of the law. Go now to the Capital[4] of which you are so proud and see how much immorality prevails in it, and what is still more terrible, how they call immorality "father."[5] Bring also to it with you foodstuffs of any kind[6] and see how they will steal them from you and swear that they have not done so.

Let it be also known to you that the word "Greek" is expressed in their language by "Hellenios," which further means "pagan." What blame attaches to us from a fact to which they themselves bear witness that their true names are "Hellenes" and "Hellenism," which mean "pagan" and "paganism" respectively? The name "Romans"[7] does not belong to them but to the Franks, and it is derived from the name of "Rome" their town, and Romulus, their

[1] Matt. x. 35.

[2] Gregory Nazianzen. Here is the whole passage: "Melius enim est laudabile bellum pace a Deo disjungente." *Pat. Gr.*, xxxv. 487.

[3] Read *aina* for *aikanna*.

[4] Constantinople.

[5] An obscene expression of this kind still survives in the vulgar parlance of North Syria and Cilicia.

[6] Read *meddaim* for *mādain*.

[7] Cf. Arabic *rūm*.

ancient king; and the Greeks unjustly stole it from them. What does the word "heresy" mean except "heterodoxy," or holding of another theological opinion? He, therefore, who adds to, or subtracts from, the theological opinion of the ancients is an heretic. So far as we are concerned we love so dearly our ancient Fathers because of the good habits and good laws which they have; now what good habits do the Greeks possess? Is it the habit of eating fish and drinking wine in Lent? Or is it that other habit of theirs by which they rebel against God, and make men like women, in emasculating them, and defile themselves with many abominations? What is still more terrible is that they ordain such men priests and bishops. Paul has said: "I permit not a woman to teach," [1] and what is the difference between a woman and a neutered man? on the whole the difference is not very great. They have other perverse habits about which we wrote at length elsewhere.

Which is the law that is observed to-day in their Capital? Not one. There is in it nothing but iniquity, injustice and theft; the strong in it beat the weak, and the rich plunder the poor; their soldiers enter anywhere they fancy, plunder and rob and misconduct themselves with the wives of other men, who fear even to speak to them.

You wrote: "They have arranged rites of prayers, canons and Gospel lessons for every festival, and have given eleven lessons to Easter; and what they read here is read in every other Church of theirs. They have also composed *Canons* and *Cathismata* and *stichera*, and have written a book which turns on eight *echadia*." [2]

If one is obliged to follow them for the sake of these rites which you have mentioned, the Hebrew people had also similar rites; indeed the Torah was not read by everybody, but only by the elders and the priests, and the prophetical Books were only read on some special days, and what was read in Jerusalem was also read in every country in which Jews were found, and their sacrifices were offered in one [3] place. David in his days set up twenty-four singers, every two

[1] 1 Tim. ii. 12.

[2] i.e. tones, tunes. The author refers here to the Melchite *Octoechus*. Further, *Canons*, *Cathismata* and *Stichera* are well-known prayers of the same community.

[3] Read *bhadh* for *biyadh*.

of whom used to sing two hours and were followed by a relay of two others. *Coclions* (= Cyclii) and various kinds of tones never ceased to be in use in the Temple; and the Jews possessed other enactments and rites of a similar kind. Why then we Christians do not follow the Jews? For crucifying the Son they were humbled in spite of their tunes and rites. It is not through *catechismata* and *stichera* that one will enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but by means of good works and pious deeds: "The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom."[1]

If the Gospel of the Syrians was different from that of the Greeks, the former might have been blamed. But when the Gospel is one, no harm and wrong can possibly attach to anyone who reads this or that lesson from it on a special occasion. Look at the community of Muḥammad, their *munādis* or *mu'adhdhins*, when they cry, have the same words here and anywhere else, and none of them adds anything to them or subtracts anything from them, but no Christian praises them for this rite. Lo the Syrians also have arranged their prayers in eight tones, and they perform two *echadia* every week. Sundays are consecrated to the festival of the Resurrection; Mondays and Tuesdays are devoted to prayers for repentance; Wednesdays are to the Mother of God, to the martyrs and the dead; Thursdays to the Apostles and Doctors, to the Mother of God, to the martyrs, and to the dead; Fridays to the Cross; and Saturdays to the Mother of God, to the martyrs and the dead.

The Syrians perform also every month the eight *echadia* like the Greeks; and they have further *Ḳabbelai Mār*[2] with the rest of the *Ḳālé*, while the *M'irāné* with the rest of the *itdakhraith* are even supererogatory, and it was only the wealth of the devotions of the Syrian Fathers that induced them to arrange them as a rite in this way. See now how the Greeks have no special prayers for the night, apart from what they regularly recite in the morning and in the evening, at night, and in the day-time; but the Syrians who are endowed with great wealth of devotions have also the *Shuḥlāph—Ḳāla* which was recited by the ancients, the *Madhrāshé*, the *Ma'nyātha*, the *takhshpātha*, the *ba'wātha*, with the rest of the *Ḳālé* of *itdakhraith*,

[1] Prov. ix. 10.

[2] This and the following words are names of prayers in the West Syrian breviary.

the Greek and Syriac *Canons*,[1] and the *'Inyāné*. The fact that people of every country pray differently, and have something which singles them out from the rest, goes to their credit, first because it indicates the wealth of their devotions and spiritual vigour, and secondly because it is a sign of the incomprehensibility of God who wishes to be glorified in different ways in different countries and towns.

Now you examine our Service Books and our *penḳyātha*:[2] if you find in them mistakes or heresies, blame and rebuke us; but if they tell the undiluted truth, why should they be blasphemous in their different *bāté* and *Ḳīnātha*? The Greeks also have different *Canons*, *Stichera*, and *Cathismata* in different countries, and I myself saw in the books of the Melchites *Canons* which were at Antioch recited for the saints, but which were not so used in Melitene, and some others were substituted in their place; and the same thing happens with them in other countries, as it happens also with the Franks, the Armenians and other Christians. Tones and words vary with countries and persons.

What harm is there in the simple service of *Maksa*? It contains "multum in parvo," and has been arranged for the sick, and at one time, for the nuns. Now that it has been established everywhere you see that it possesses driving force, and fulfils all the requirements of the prayers directed to the Mother of God, to the Apostles, to the Fathers, to the Prophets, to the Martyrs, to repentance, and to the dead. "Not everyone that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven."[3]

Let it also be known to you that the *Canons*, the *Cathismata* and the rest have entered into the Church as something supererogatory. This is known from the fact that in the days of the Doctors, there was only reading and interpretation of the scripture in the Churches, and there were not found in it melodies and harmonious modulations which create lust in the hearers. When Bardaiṣān became insane and composed the *Ḳinta*,[4] St. Ephrem was obliged to multiply the *madhrāsha*[5]

[1] The West Syrian Service Books have two kinds of *Canons*; some are called "Syrian" and some others "Greek."

[2] *Penḳitha* is the name of the West Syrian Breviary.

[3] Matt. vii. 21.

[4] Here: musical tunes and melodies with metrical compositions.

[5] Here: didactic composition in poetry.

through which he destroyed Bardaiṣān's lustful *Ḳinātha*. And Mar Severus recited *ma'nyātha* against the poets and against the *'onyātha* of the Greek Sustius.[1] And John Chrysostom arranged the *stichera* against the Arians who had composed *'onyātha* through which they used to deceive the simple folk. The same may also be said of the *Canons*, etc., which really did harm to the Church, since they have been in it the cause[2] of the cessation of the reading and interpretation of scripture and the art of preaching. Show me if in the time of the Apostles there were musical tones and *'onyātha*, apart from the reading and interpretation of scripture and the art of teaching and preaching.

You write: In the *penḳiyātha*[3] of the office of Lent it is said: "Moses, Elijah and Daniel fasted;" and in the office of Palm Sunday it is written: "The children glorified Him," etc.; and in the office of the Passion Week there is: "Blessed is Thy passion, O Lord."

Let it be known to you that the Syrian writers showed the mystery of every festival in the words of the office which they wrote for it, and they wove all its history in the *Ḳīnātha*, in order to teach the hearers the mystery of the festival. It was quite legitimate for them to have written the office of the festivals and commemorations in a way that its prayers were directed only to penitence, but they wished to put variety in the ritual. If, for instance, the Fathers had not said in the breviary of the time of Lent that so-and-so had fasted, others would not have imitated the ancients and fasted; if they had not explained how the wound of the sinners was healed, those who had the wound of sin would not have had recourse to any medical treatment and to penitence; if they had not told how our Lord entered Jerusalem and was praised by children, the children would not have striven to emulate their praise; if they had not concerned themselves with Zechariah, David, Ezechiel and the Prophets, one would not have known who prophesied about the Christ that he would ride on a she-ass and enter the Holy City; if they had not written about Abraham, and his son, no one would ever have known that Abraham was the figure

[1] *Sic* Cod. Is he the neo-Platonic bishop *Synesius* (375-430) who wrote several hymns in Greek? or is he Methodius the hymn-writer who died about 311?

[2] Read *b'illathhon* for *millathhon*.

[3] Office books, breviary.

of the Father, and Isaac that of the Son, who was offered as a sacrifice for us ; that Cain was the figure of the Jews, and Abel the figure of Christ who was murdered ; and that the vineyard was the symbol of the synagogue of the Jews.

Now knowledge and not ignorance is necessary for the understanding of all these. The *Ḥdhau 'Ammé*[1] has been said by St. Ephrem, and he derived it from the prophet who said "Rejoice and be glad because your Saviour is mighty."[2] The *Train Talmīdhe*[3] is derived from the Gospel. You say that these two prayers have no driving power and no savour. If there is no driving power in the prophets and in the Apostles whose very words have been borrowed by the Fathers in the composition of these prayers, we will admit that the former have not got them either ; but if the prophets and the Apostles are believed in and accepted by all Christians, we must also accept the Fathers and not rebel against the truth. *Et cetera.*

Chapter V.

On how tones and melodies do not bring any profit to those who sing them and those who hear them.

Now let us come to the remaining part of what you wrote on this subject : "To-day that you are the Father of the Syrians and the son of . . . the rest of your encomium it is not necessary to quote—collect all the service books of the Church and write from them all one good book of *Octoechus*."[4]

What you have mentioned has been arranged by the ancient Fathers in the matter[5] of *Ma'niyātha* and the service of nocturns, as we have stated above. The Church, however, is in no need of them, and I would suggest to you and to every God-fearing man that instead of canticles and prayers containing musical melodies which bring no profit to the singer nor to the hearer, to make use of the Books of the Old and New Testaments and the writings of the Fathers, and to read a chapter from each one of them at every festival. Both the reader and the hearer will derive profit from these lessons. Be

[1] Beginning of a prayer which means : "Peoples rejoice."
[2] Cf. Is. lx. 16 and lxv. 18, etc.
[3] Beginning of a prayer which means : "Two disciples."
[4] Lit. *eight echadia.* [5] Read *bsharba* for *bsharka.*

concerned with this good work rather than *Canons*. The Apostle Peter said: "Be ready to give answer to every man that asketh you a reason concerning the hope of your faith;"[1] and the Apostle Paul said: "In the Church I had rather speak five words with my understanding than ten thousand words."[2] And: "Cry with thy throat, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet and show my people their transgression, and the children of Israel their sins."[3] It is not good to forsake the words of God and do good worldly service at the altar.

You see how the Prophets and the Apostles exhort us to read, interpret, preach and teach the mysteries of the faith, and convert any one who is against us, and not to sing and to contrive musical melodies like sirens, nor to bray like asses, nor to utter sweet sounds like nightingales, nor to sing like swans, nor to coo like doves, nor should we institute to-day a feast for so-and-so, and to-morrow another feast for so-and-so, and in this open our stomachs to excessive food, and broaden our gullets to drink, and thus pander to the proclivities of our alimentary desires and minister to occasions of sin and say: "To-day is a feast, we must therefore eat and drink." To pagans belong festivities, songs, dances, banquets and drink, and to Christians fasting, prayer, and reading of scripture. In their festivities the Greeks resemble, therefore, those who are outside our sheepfold.

Let it be also known to you that musical tunes and melodies with *Canons*, *stichera* and the rest of them have come down to the Greeks from outsiders, that is to say from the pagan Odysseus who having experienced the sweetness of the song of sirens which dwelt in the sea of Scylla, perceived a desire to learn it; and because these sirens sang men used frequently to throw themselves into the sea, bewitched as they were by their song, and were eaten by them. Odysseus, however, resorted to a stratagem: he plugged with wax the ears of the sailors, and some men tied him and his companions with chains of iron, and they floated on the sea. When the sirens saw them they began to sing songs of various melodies, but those men whose ears were plugged did not hear the sweetness of the song, and those who were attached with chains of iron could not throw themselves into the sea because of their being strongly tied, and so they little by little learned the melodies and introduced[4] them to mankind. Examine, then, the origin of the

[1] 1 Peter iii. 15. [2] 1 Cor. xiv. 19.
[3] Is. lviii. 1. [4] Change the *yodh* into a *wāw*.

melodies. It is really the sirens which have to take pride rather than the Greeks.

You say: "It is not fair to make other Christians heretics, and to call ourselves orthodox people."

If Christians were such as they, what would you be yourself? If you answer that you are a Christian, rise up and go to them and see what they will call you. If they are not heretics, then the Syrians are. If you pretend that both sides are right, no one from either side will believe you, neither from our side nor from the side of the adversaries. They call us heretical Jacobites, and we call them Chalcedonians, Nestorians, and heretics. If you have enough power in you like your namesake Joshua,[1] son of Nun, to reconcile them with one another, we ourselves will help you in everything. But what union is there between light and darkness? Many believed that it would be good to join the adversaries, but this has proved a stumbling block to them and finally their downfall. When Ahab had pity on Benhadad and saved his life, God got angry with him and with his people, and he was rejected from power, and Hazael[2] killed him.[3]

You write: "My heart does not allow me to anathematize anyone, not even Nestorius and his companions. If I do not accept them it is solely because they are alien to, and rejected from, the Church of God."

I am tempted to be amazed at your simplicity, O brother, how it easily contradicts itself. You contended that your heart[4] does not allow you to anathematize Nestorius and his companions, and you have at the same time unknowingly anathematized him. Anathema is a separation from God, and when you have separated them from the Church and rejected and denounced them, you have anathematized them. Do you then believe that anathema means anything else? The word "anathema" is used in two meanings. The first meaning is found in the sentence of Moses: "every 'anathema'[5] which is

[1] In Syriac *Isho'* renders both "Jesus" and "Joshua."

[2] For Samuel of the MS.

[3] Cf. 1 Kings xx. 31 sqq.; 2 Kings viii. 15. "Him" means Benhadad.

[4] Read *libbākh* for *lākh*.

[5] In Syriac the same word *ḥirma* is used in the Scriptural passages used below, and means both "anathema" and "offering, vow, sacrifice." This distinction is a favourite theme of some Jacobite writers. See Pseudo-Philoxenus in my *Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia*, 1925, p. 61.

'anathematized' by a man."[1] Here "anathema" means "vow": i.e. every vow vowed by a man. The second kind of anathema is that spoken of by Paul: "He who does not love our Lord Jesus Christ let him be anathema."[2] The first "anathema" means "vow" and "sacrifice," and the second anathema means "separation from God" and "rejection from the Church of God." This last kind of anathema is the one used by the Doctors against the heretics.

You write: "The Greeks have a heavenly King, and God gave them also an earthly king, how can they not be proud?"

It is written that we cannot serve two masters,[3] O brother. If they call God their King, they are deprived of an earthly king; and if they seek the earthly one, they forsake the heavenly one. This is also known by what God said to Samuel: In asking for an earthly king, the Jews "have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me," Creator and God, "that I should not reign over them."[4] You see how[5] God Himself decreed by His words that any one who has an earthly king is deprived of the heavenly one. We follow the words of God, and do not contend that a man has two kings; if it was so he would be bound to "love the one and hate the other, and hold to one and despise the other."

Every pride in an earthly kingdom is from the evil one; it is he who overcomes the passions and lays the body under the power of the soul who is a king. Further, other Christian peoples have also kings, and they do not for that take pride in their souls, and the Persians and the Arabs have all kings, and we could not say that they have greater right than we have. The true kingdom is that which is established in orderliness and virtue, as in the times of Constantine, Theodosius and the rest of the Roman kings, that is to say the kings of the Franks.[6] Now look back at the kings of the Greeks of our days, how they commit adultery and fornication more than the pagan kings. When they are ordered not to take two wives, they take them. And enter their Metropolis, and you will see in love of money, which is the root of all evil,[7] and coveteousness which is

[1] Num. xxx. 2. [2] 1 Cor. xvi. 22. [3] Matt. vi. 24.
[4] 1 Sam. viii. 7. [5] Eliminate one *aikanna*.
[6] The author is at some pains to distinguish between "Romans" whom "he calls Franks" (Arab. *Rūmaniyūn*, Syr. *Rōmāyé*), and "Byzantines" (Arab. *Rūm*, Syr. *Rōmāyé*, *Yaunāyé*) whom he calls "Greeks."
[7] 1 Tim. vi. 10.

idolatry,[1] and unbounded adultery, not only among laymen and laywomen, but also among the clergy. No king, no head, and no superior can stop them. Their bishops are likewise covetous, and they pile up gold like stones, and they enjoy material things, and wear fine linen and purple instead of wool.[2] They ride also on powerful mules and bathe in the public baths like women, and relish different kinds of food. Faith without works and good conduct is dead.[3] *Et cetera.*

Chapter VI.

Against the Pride of the Chalcedonians, and on the Building of their Capital.

Let us proceed now with haste and examine the fallacy of the Greeks on this subject.

You write: "The beautiful Metropolis which Jeremiah has foreseen when lamenting over Jerusalem is our Metropolis. God showed him her towers, her beauty, her ramparts, and her buildings and said to him: 'Do not weep over Jerusalem, lo I have found a house better than Jerusalem, and I will bring all people and all tongues to its glory;'[4] and it happened as he said."

To whom shall we now speak, and on whom shall we pour our wrath? On those who foolishly utter fallacies like these, or on people[5] who listen to them? In what passage did Jeremiah prophesy about Constantinople, and who is the commentator who understood it in that sense? Jeremiah was taken to Egypt; and according to some people, he even composed his Lamentations over Jerusalem in Egypt. It is not written in the Lamentations that he prophesied about the Metropolis, nor about a town that would stand on its site. If they are so untruthful in palpable subjects like this, how much more will they be so on the subject of faith which is thinner that a hair?

[1] Col. iii. 5.

[2] Or: sackcloth. A wool garment is an emblem of poverty and penitence. Cf. the word *Ṣūfi* (from which the Mohammedan *Ṣūfis*, and *Ṣūfism*) which means "woolly" from *Ṣūf* "wool."

[3] Jas. ii. 17.

[4] There is no such passage in the *Lamentations*.

[5] Read *aw 'al* for *akh-d*.

They raved also another falsehood to the effect that it was Euphemia the martyr who gave them the articles of faith of the Council of Chalcedon. In this they show that they have received their faith from a dead woman ; and to this effect they even hang in their Churches the picture of something which is unreal. The fact is that the Council assembled in the temple of Euphemia, and the *Tomos* of the unholy Leo and the other book containing the articles of faith were laid in the font of the saint ; but it is nowhere written that the saint rose from the dead and confirmed them ; what they are uttering is pure lie, and their powerful pillars, and the enemies of the truth, such as Joannes Damascenus, Theophilus, and Theodore of Ḥarrān did not write these lies, I mean the untruth concerning Jeremiah and Euphemia, because they knew that they were lies. Damascenus, however, indulged in another falsehood in writing that a child rose up to heaven and heard the angels say : "*Sanctus es Deus, Sanctus es Omnipotens, Sanctus es Immortalis*," without the addition : *Qui crucifixus es pro nobis.*[1] Against this we wrote at length (in another book) and we reproved him and showed that "no man hath ascended into heaven but he that descended out of heaven."[2] We rebuked them that their faith has come down to them from a woman, and that their *trisagion* has emanated from a child not yet in his full senses, and not from an angel or a man in his full senses. You, however, believe not the untruth[3] that they have uttered against the Ar̤menians.

Constantinople was built in the time of Manasseh by the brothers Byzantion, and it was a pagan town, which had no fame till the days of Constantine who repaired to it and enlarged it.

You say that it is written : "I will bring to it all peoples and tongues for worship," to which we will answer : not the Christian, but the pagan, peoples. We have heard that peoples and tongues went to Jerusalem for worship ; and to the town you are mentioning no one ever went for worship, but only on business. Further, when did Christians ever repair to it for the sake of honour ? They went to it only to grub, and to buy and sell. It is frequented mostly by Persians, Arabs, and barbarous and godless peoples, such as Ḳumanians

[1] See the story in Joannes Damascenus, *De Fide Orthodoxa*, cap. liv., vol. i., p. 219 (edit. Lequien).

[2] John iii. 13.

[3] Which untruth ?

and Hungarians, who have enriched it with gold, silver and precious stones. Lo, Bagdad, Cairo, and other towns of the kingdom of the Arabs are richer in gold, silver and precious stones, and we do not say that they have more truth than we have.

Listen now to Gregory, how he rebukes those who are rich in gold: "Against those who have gold and silver, we have a pure speech; against those who have churches, we possess the One who dwells in them; against those who have temples, we possess God and we are His living temples; and against those who have multitudes, we have angels."

You write: "God has gathered together and brought to it prophets, apostles, and martyrs, so that none of them is outside it."

This also is untrue. James, the brother of our Lord, is buried in Jerusalem, and James, son of Zebedee, is in the west, south of the city of Rome; Peter and Paul are in Rome, and John, son of Zebedee is buried in Ephesus, where also is the mother of God. The Apostle Thomas was buried in India, and his bones were transferred to Edessa. Ezechiel and the three children[1] are in Babylonia with Daniel, and the prophet Isaiah is in Jerusalem. The rest of the prophets and apostles are likewise in all directions, and all are not in the Metropolis. As to St. Basil, all the Emperors strove to transfer his bones from Cæsarea to the Metropolis, but they did not succeed. The great Meletius[2] was transferred from the Metropolis to Antioch. As to the wood of the Holy Cross, it was in Jerusalem, and in the time of Shahrbaraz and Chosrau it was carried to Persia, and in their time also it was brought back and sawn in the middle, and half of it reached the Metropolis.

You write: "And also the rod of Moses and the staff of Aaron, and the ark."

O deceivers and liars! How they deceive the simple folk to make them accept their teaching! In the ark were the rod, the staff, and the golden pot holding the manna. This ark and all the sacraments that it contained Jeremiah took out and hid in a cave: and from that day up to now no one has ever known their exact place. We know this from the Book of Maccabees and from other Doctors.

[1] Lit. Companions of Hananiah.
[2] Meletius of Antioch who died in 381.

You write: "And also the twelve baskets, and the veronica, and the robe of the mother of God."

From the time of the Economy of Christ to that of Constantine, there are more than three hundred years, and in that time kings were pagan, and Christianity was not yet in plain light; who, therefore, collected the above sacred objects for the Greeks? So they are also liars in this matter; they have neither the baskets, nor the crown of thorns—for which they have fabricated one of nails—nor the swaddling clothes of Christ, as they rave. It is possible that the existence there of the veronica is true, but who stole the robe of the mother of God and brought it to them, and left the Virgin naked? Fie, the madness! All the sacred objects were in Jerusalem, but when the Jews transgressed the commandments and the law, they were taken in captivity, and Jerusalem was destroyed; the ark also and the tables of the Covenant were carried away by the Philistines: their pride, therefore, in these things is that of ignorant and not of intelligent men.

As to the right hand of John the Baptist by which they sanctify the holy chrism, do not follow blindly after children, O brother! Tell me this: when Herodias took the head of John the Baptist in a charger,[1] what profit did she get out of this gift? Was it not a loss that she sustained? It is the good actions of a man that give him the right to be worthy of John's fellowship, and not the fact that he possesses great things for which he does not care. To a pig pearls and muck are on the same level. Many asses of merchants carry precious things from which they derive no profit whatever.

Concerning John the Baptist, Theodoret, the helper of the Greeks, wrote that in the days of Julian the Apostate, pagans took[2] his bones from the urn and burned them.[3] John of Asia[4] also wrote that in the time of Justinian one of the prefects of Palestine who was like a pagan

[1] Mark vi. 28.

[2] Add a *wūu* to the verb.

[3] Here is the whole passage of Theodoret; "Sebastae vero, quae et ipsa ejusdem est gentis, Joannis Baptistae arcam aperuerunt, et, ossibus combustis, cinerem dissiparunt." *Pat. Gr.*, lxxxii. 1091.

[4] It is the Syrian historian John of Ephesus. I failed to see this passage in the fragments that have come down to us from the great historical work of this Syrian writer, as published by Land (*Anecdota Syriaca*, ii., 289-329, and 385-391) and by Cureton (*The Third Part of Eccl. Hist. of John Bishop of Ephesus*, 1853).

in his conduct, sent a right hand to the Metropolis and said that it was John the Baptist's. Many were suspicious about it and said that it could not be true. It was, however, accepted by the Emperor and the people as true.[1] Where is it written that the holy chrism should be sanctified by the right hand of John? The Greeks that are amongst us rave that they mix the blood of Christ with the holy chrism. The Apostles and the Doctors have ordered that the holy chrism should be composed of different elements and be sanctified by the prayers of the bishops and the people, and these pretend that it contains the blood of Christ; which is untrue. This would make them resemble the Jews who said: "His blood be on us and on our children."[2] And they are being baptized by this same blood!

If the holy chrism is sanctified by a dead right hand, they are, therefore, being baptized by a dead man; because although St. John be living to God, he is so in his soul, while in his body he is so far dead, and he has not yet resuscitated. How can the right hand of a dead man sanctify the holy chrism? Why! this is not a great affair, since their ordination also emanates from a dead man! Indeed they used to receive for some time their bishops from Rome, but when trouble arose between them and the Franks, Rome did not give them any bishop; and it was after many frays and bickerings that they gave them a bishop, but when the messengers who were bringing him reached the city of Heraclea in Thrace, he fell ill and died. They were then in great pain and sorrow, and fearing lest the Romans should require the ordination of another bishop from them, they resorted to a stratagem and brought a man and laid the hand of the dead bishop on his head and ordained him. They decreed also that in future it is the bishop of Thrace that shall lay the right hand on the head of all the bishops of the Capital. This custom they observe

[1] Concerning the recent opening of the new Museum of Constantinople the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* writes, under the date of 24 January, 1927, as follows: "Some interesting reliquaries are displayed, including—from Byzantine times—a gold and jewelled section of the cranium of the traditional head of St. John the Baptist, and a gold forearm showing part of the bones of the back of the Saint's hand. They were taken from a Christian Church by Mohammed the Conqueror, and have been preserved in the Treasury ever since."

Manchester Guardian, 2 February, 1927.

[2] Matt. xxvii. 25.

down to our own days, and on it we have written elsewhere in several places.

You write: "So far as we are concerned whom have we but SS. Barṣauma and Aaron?"

What shall we say to a mind glued to earthly things? As to us we have our beloved,[1] the Lord of heaven and earth; it is He, the Lord of heaven and earth and holy sacraments who said: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them;"[2] and who spoke through the prophet: I do not count heaven and earth, "where is the house ye build unto me?"[3] and who proclaimed in the mouth of Isaiah: "To whom shall we look and in whom shall I dwell except him who is peaceful and humble," and fears my word.[4] You will see, if you reflect, whom we have! He is indeed St. Barṣauma! Listen also to St. John Chrysostom how he rises against those who take pride in such things; he said in the eighty-second chapter of his commentary on Matthew: "How many men there are now who say 'We wish to see the face of Christ, His image, His dresses, and His shoes;' but lo you are seeing Him, and you are holding Him; you are eating Him, and you are wishing to see His dresses! He did not give Himself to you in order that you may only see Him, but that you may also touch Him, eat Him, and receive Him in yourself."[5]

What would you say about this quotation? Did it not confute and destroy all that you wrote? Did it not put an end to all the pride of the Greeks? Do not err, therefore, after them, but follow in the steps of your fathers. *Et cetera.*

[1] Or possibly: O our beloved!

[2] Matt. xviii. 20. [3] Isa. lxvi. 1, with slight changes.

[4] Isa. lxvi. 2, with slight changes.

[5] Here is the whole passage: "Quot sunt qui modo dicunt: vellem ejus formam, typum, vestimenta, calceamenta, videre? Ecce illum vides, ipsum tangis, ipsum comedis; et tu quidem vestimenta videre cupis; ipse vero seipsum tibi dat, non videndum modo, sed tangendum, comedendum, intus accipiendum." — *Pat. Gr.*, lviii. 743.

Chapter VII.

On the fact that he made the Greeks the head of all Christians.

Let us go on with our investigation of the words of this writer[1] and see how he inclines to all winds, and how he possesses zeal and kindness, but not in the sense in which the Apostle intended these to be.

You write: "Why should we blame them? If they blame us it is because we did not obey them when they were right. It is written: "The superiors of the peoples are their superiors."[2]

How well has Esau[3] been tested and his hidden mind disclosed! In everything that you have propounded you have shown[4] that you are not holding your faith from conviction but out of hypocrisy. On the one hand you persuade us not to blame those who out of their own free will have trampled on the anathemas of the Synod of Ephesus and decreed another canon. On the other hand you gave them authority to blame us on the score that they are our superiors and directors. Show us where you get the information that they have that precedence of us which would entitle them to blame us, and be our superiors. If you say that it is because they were evangelized before us, we demonstrated in our previous letter to you[5] that their evangelization did not precede ours. If you pretend that they are our superiors because some of their books have been translated by us, we have proved decisively that all the Doctors of the Church are not Greek.

As the Jews do not scorn the Christians because it is from their people that the Books of the Prophets and Apostles have emanated, so also the Greeks should not blame us on this score. If as you say they are our superiors, and they have consequently right to blame us because we did not listen to them, the Jews will hold them by their throats and say: "We are older than you, and we are your superiors and directors; you took the Books from us;[6] come and become like

[1] I.e. Rabban 'Isho'.

[2] Or: those who blame the peoples are their superiors. Cf. Luke xxii. 25.

[3] He refers to his adversary.

[4] Eliminate the *wāw* before the verb.

[5] This letter seems to be lost.

[6] Read *minnan* for *minkhon*.

us; if we blame you, it is our duty to do so; you Greeks should never rebuke us for the fact that we crucified the Christ." What are these old women's tales, and what is this useless discussion!

You write: "That Council (of Chalcedon) which had six hundred and thirty-six Fathers, and from which two were driven out."

I am amazed at the way you have accepted as true the falsehood of liars. Who saw (the Fathers of that Council) and counted them as amounting to such a number? Who read their unofficial proceedings and deliberations? As for us we read everything in books and we know what was done and spoken there, and how long the Council lasted; we have also written with us the names of all the bishops who assembled in it, and those who subscribed to it by proxy, and the number of all them amounts only to three hundred and sixty-three. To what extent can the deceivers lie! They believe that it is by the magnitude of the number of the Fathers that truth is made manifest. Three hundred and seventy bishops assembled in the town of Madecolinus[1] subscribed to the wickedness of Arius, and wished[2] to throw away Athanasius the Great, because he did not agree with them.

Now what do you say? Had the high number of men in this case greater right than one man, or had this one man, Athanasius, greater right than all of them? Learned men even among the Greeks testify that Athanasius was right. Picture, therefore, in your mind and know that Dioscorus and the bishops who were with him had likewise[3] greater right than the other three hundred who out of their fear of the king and for the love of their sees[4] put their signatures to the *Tomos* of Leo. Abraham was in his days the only one who served God, the rest being idol-worshippers. But listen to what the holy Theologian[5] says: "Three men who gather together in the name of God, are more numerous before His eyes than several myriads who deny His Godhead. Would you honour all the Canaanites more than one Abraham, or the Sodomites more than one Lot, or the Midianites more than one Moses?" And he added afterwards:

[1] Sic cod.; it is Mediolanum (Milan). [2] Read *Ṣbau* for *Ṣba*.
[3] Read *aph* for *aphain*.
[4] Or *chairs*; see Pseudo-Philoxenus in my *Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia*, 1925, p. 63.
[5] i.e. Gregory Nazianzen.

"No; this could not be, could not be. God was not pleased with a great number of people. You count the myriads, but God counts those who are saved; you (count) the earth that cannot be measured, but I will (count) the vessels of election."[1]

You further write: "Those *Ḳānōné*[2] which are called *Ḳoḳlia* are invented by the Jews."

Show us the *Canon* which was invented by the Jews. It is said that the Jews invented not the *Ḳānōné* but the *tishbḥātha* to the tunes of which the *Ḳānōné* have been invented, and which serve as the foundations of their intonations. As to whether the *Ḳoḳlia* are from the Hebrews, I heard that it is the *tishbḥātha*, that is to say the *mazmōre*, that they sing with different melodies. Ponder well over what you write, and then begin to discuss.

You condescended also to say that the Greeks took the kingdom of the Romans by stratagem.

When did it happen that a kingdom has been stolen? It is God who removes kings and raises up kings. He removed the kingdom from the Franks[3] and bestowed it on the Greeks. That a kingdom, however, is stolen without the wish of God is known from the fact that Absalom stole the kingdom from his father David, and the people leaned towards him. That a king does rise without the order of God is also borne out by the prophet who testifies and says: "He reigned but not by me, and he governed but not by my will."[4] Wicked kings reign by the tacit permission of God; this occurs especially when iniquity is on the increase among the people. If God gave the kingdom to the Greeks, it follows that it is He who also gave it to the Arabs and the Turks for such a long time. The fact, however, is not so, and the subject is different from the one that concerns us.

You write: "The foreign[5] merchants who go in and out of the

[1] Here is the whole passage: ". . . tres in nomine Domini congregatos plures apud Deum censeri quam multos divinitatem abnegantes. An tu universos etiam Chananaeos Abrahamo uni antepones? An Sodomitas uni Lot? An Madianitas Moysi? . . . Non est ita, non, inquam ita est. Non in pluribus beneplacitum est Deo (1 Cor. x. 5). Tu quidem myriades numeras, at Deus eos qui salutem consequuntur; tu infinitum pulverem, ego electionis vasa." *Pat. Gr.*, xxxvi. 467.

[2] Names of ritual prayers = *Canons*.

[3] i.e. the Romans.

[4] Hos. viii. 4.

[5] Lit. of different tongue.

Metropolis testify that there is no kingdom, no government, no wealth, and no charity similar to that of the Greeks ; and we Syrians consider them as nothing."

Your saying that the Greeks are praised by outsiders and not by Christians is prophetical ; we mean by outsiders Persians, Arabs, and Turks. Earthly people think of earthly things. The Greeks are not praised by just, pious, and orthodox people, but by grubbing and robbing merchants. And in what do these praise them ? In the fact that there is no kingdom, no government, and no wealth like theirs.

Alexander has not been praised in any (sacred or ecclesiastical) book because his government embraced three ends of the inhabited globe, and his kingdom extended to nearly all the earth, and his wealth increased like stones. The kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar and that of Sennacherib, Pharaoh, and others was also very great, but in what did these pagans excel in their kingdom and government ? Is it in their piety and holiness ? There is no man of sound judgment who thinks so. Do not praise, therefore, the Greeks for something that is shameful before the eyes of God. The ancients, prophets and Apostles, have not been praised for their government, kingdom and wealth, but for their trials, privations, poverty and wants.

You say : " There is no charity like theirs." This is also untrue. Where is the one who has been fed[1] in the bazaars of their Capital ? Indeed how many needy and destitute people walk in its bazaars ? Some Christians who had gone there because of their poverty told[2] us that they have no mercy at all,[3] and that when they wish to eat bread they close their doors and bolt them, and the poor man hoarsens his voice in crying and sighing from hunger, and no man gives him bread. Here we will end this subject.

Chapter VIII.

On how He Blames His Co-religionists and is Proud of the Greeks.

You write : " We (Syrians) were the first in our evangelization and the Greeks the last, and God gave us kingdom, power,

[1] Read *ettzīn* for *ezdben*. [2] Add a *waw* to the verb.
[3] Read *dsakh* for *nsakh*.

ecclesiastical see,[1] and honour, because we were the first to believe in Him, but now He has greatly humbled us."

O brother, open your eyes and see, incline your ear and listen, and you will not cling much to earthly things. Christ did not promise the Christians earthly things sticking with mud, but He promised them heavenly things. "Seek the things that are above, and set your mind on the things that are above where Christ is."[2] It is the pagans who glory in an earthly kingdom and have earthly possessions; if we Christians wish to fix our minds on the latter, by what would we be distinguished from pagans? Have you not heard your Lord say: "My kingdom is not of this world; if it were then would my servants fight for me."[3] And: "Where I am, there shall also my servant be."[4] If we are, therefore, the servants of Christ, we should prepare ourselves for our journey to His heavenly kingdom, and not seek to reign here like other people who have no hope.

To which of the Apostles, who were the first to be evangelized, did God give in this world, kingdom, government, and wealth? On the contrary, they toured the world in want, privation, poverty, and need. Has not the Son of God Himself plainly declared that He "hath not where to lay His head."[5] Peter and John said to the man that was lame: "Silver and gold have we none, but in the name of Jesus rise and walk."[6] The Lord of all did not bestow any worldly honours, nor any earthly kingdom, which in reality is nothing, on all these saints who forsook everything and followed him. If every poor man were despised[7] before God and wrong in his faith, and if the man who[8] has wealth and kingdom were right in his faith, it would have been high time for you to despise Lazarus, the poor, full of sores, and to extol the rich man who was "clothed in purple and fine linen and faring sumptuously;"[9] it would have also been good opportunity for you to praise the faith of the sons of Hagar[10] who reigned in the earth from end to end, and are prosperous in the world, while the Christians are lowly, wretched, under subjection, and poor.

Listen to your Lord who says: "If the world hateth you, know

[1] Allusion to the Patriarchal See of Antioch.
[2] Col. iii. 1-2. [3] John xviii. 36. [4] John xii. 26.
[5] Matt. viii. 20. [6] Acts iii. 6.
[7] Remove the waw before *shīṭ*. [8] Add a *wāw* to *hāu*.
[9] Cf. Luke xvi. 19 sq. [10] The Arabs.

ye that it hath hated me before you."[1] And: "If ye were of the world, the world would love its own."[2] And: "If they persecuted me, they will also persecute you."[3] And: "Ye shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice."[4] And: "Love of this world is enmity against God."[5] What do you say against all these? Your Lord has shown that it is the one who possesses neither kingdom nor government who is accepted by Him. He who is here in subjection and strong in faith is going to[6] rejoice in the kingdom of heaven which will never perish.

You write: "There are no Syrians except with you in Melitene and in Edessa. There are very few of them with us."

Now Rabban 'Isho' comes back to us like a mighty teacher, and believing that the Syrians are uprooted more than any other people, he asks us why.

If you say that that is their condition because of their sins, we will retort that there are to-day many pagans and Jews who have kindled and kindle the wrath of God more than the Syrians, yet they are strong in power and prosperous in wealth, and their number is so high that it cannot be reckoned. Tell me also why are the prophets that rose in this world now uprooted, while the Jewish people who crucified the Son is still prosperous everywhere. Where are the Fathers, the just men, and the pontiffs? Where are the Apostles, the evangelists, the solitaries, the martyrs, and the confessors? If all these are uprooted because of their sins or for a similar reason,[7] so also consider the Syrians; but if it is because God loved them that He took them to Him, you should also assert the same in the case of the Syrians.

Now listen to what Jeremiah says: "Now that the just have gone to their rest, and the prophets have died, and we have left the land, we have nothing but the mighty one and His law."[8] That just king Josiah also did not last long in power, and it has been said about him: "The just man goes to his rest before the wrath."[9] You see that the wheat is always gathered in the barns while the chaff is abandoned.

[1] John xv. 18. [2] John xv. 19. [3] John xv. 20.
[4] John xvi. 20. [5] Rom. viii. 7 (Syr.).
[6] Remove the *waw* before *'thīdh*.
[7] Add the words *hraitha* or *ddhamya*.
[8] This quotation is from the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (*Pat. Syr.*, ii. 1230).
[9] Is. lvii. i.

You write: "Why should we (Syrians) be proud because we were evangelized first? The Christ has said: 'Many shall be last that are first, and first that are last.'"[1]

We did not take pride because we were evangelized first; but we simply asked you the reason why the Greeks scorn us after you had made them our superiors and directors! We have not received our faith from them; the Books have not come down from them to us, and their language is not more ancient than ours. Further, in Lord Jesus "there is no Greek, no barbarian, no bondman, and no freeman, but Christ is all and in all."[2] He who works with Him is accepted by Him. The proof which you put forward runs counter to what you intended: you say that we who are first became the last, but see how in the same sequence you added: "and the last shall be first;" the Syrians who in your sentence were the last became the first in relation to the Greeks.

You write: "A prickly shrub that gives a beautiful rose, how can its master uproot it?"

It is sufficient for it that its name is a "prickly shrub."[3] There are many prickly shrubs which have no roses but are full of thorns, and their end is fire. Before the Council of Chalcedon the Greeks were not prickly shrubs, but a tree that bore fruits. After they tore the robe of Christ and divided it into duality of natures, the rose of the "first" was taken away from them, in a way similar to that of the Jews from whom priesthood and Books have been taken and given to a people that would yield fruits. The Jews were like the fig tree of tender branches;[4] as long as they kept the commandments and discarded sin, they were planted in the angle of the heavenly abode, but when they sinned and transgressed the commandments, the vineyard, that is to say, the people, was uprooted, and the vine and its branches were burnt, and the fig tree was cut to pieces from its roots by the axe of Vespasian and cast into the fire of dispersion.

Why did you not say to the master of the vineyard, as you would have doubtless wished to have done: let the "prickly shrub" be

[1] Matt. xix. 30. [2] Col. iii. 11.

[3] The author is playing here on the Syriac word *sanya* which means a "rose-tree," and as a participle of the verb *sna*, a "vile and despicable person."

[4] The beginning of the sentence is somewhat corrupt.

watered, in order that it may bring forth a rose? But which is the rose of the Greeks? Please tell me. If you say that the rose is the *Canons*, the *cathismata*, and the *stichera*, intelligent people do not consider these as a rose, because both our Church and theirs have been meditating for a long time over these hymns, and have been unable to convert through them a single man to the right path. The true rose is scriptural meditation, interpretation, teaching, wisdom and good advices; it is through these that the Apostles and Doctors converted all the ends of the earth to the truth. A second rose consists in fast, prayer, charity, holiness, chastity, and acts of perfection. It is through the scent of this rose that one can convert his own soul and convert others also.

Listen now to what the Doctors say concerning *Canons* and *Ḳīnātha*, of which you are proud. The poets and the composers of *Ḳīnātha*, call sometimes a *Ḳinta* angelic, and some other times they compare the singers to Moses and to the three children. They confined[1] their Biblical references concerning those who fasted in repentance to the Ninevites, and to the publican. Through high-toned *Zummāré* you may forget or completely lose the power of penitence. We are commanded to "pray with the spirit and to sing with the understanding."[2] This is something difficult for a Greek to do, since his mind is concentrated on music.

God permitted sacrifices because He knew that the Israelites could not be convinced otherwise; and He also permitted the use by them of cymbals and other musical instruments, in order that they may not indulge in profane glees and in banquets. At the end, however, he put an end to sacrifices in saying: "I have no pleasure in whole burnt offerings, and the sacrifices of God are a broken spirit."[3] He also put an end to songs and melodies by saying through the prophet: "Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols."[4] How is it that you who have been ordered to sing spiritual songs endeavour to mix with the Church songs those relaxing *Ḳīnātha* and loose tones, and thus weaken with these same *Ḳīnātha* the vigour of the souls which have hardened themselves against the passions, and mortified their bodies by ascetic works, and begun to sing with angels?

[1] Add a *wāw* to the verb.
[2] 1 Cor. xiv. 15.
[3] Ps. li. 16-17.
[4] Amos xv. 23.

If somebody says that these *Ḳīnātha* are spiritual, let him show me their fruits, and I will agree: "By their fruits ye shall know them."[1] You do not see any poet making repentance from the depth of his heart, nor striking on his breast to thwart unclean movements. On the contrary he stands erect, shakes his head, moves his neck hither and thither, gesticulates with his hands and his fingers and claps them together with noise; he often also strikes with his foot against the ground, but he does not exhibit a single fruit of penitence to the hearers who are bewitched by the sweetness of his *Ḳinta* (= melody).[2] Church music is not like this, but it is quiet, lugubrious, and inducing to sighing and weeping.

Ḳīnātha did not penetrate into the Churches except when these were deprived of the gifts of teaching. When there was nobody to impart sound teaching, chanted hymns invaded the Churches. Look, therefore, at this Doctor,[3] how he disliked the *Canons*, and the *Zummāré*, and magnified and praised the interpretations of doctrine. Do not despise, therefore, the *Ḳabbelai Māran*,[4] and the *'al 'itra d'bismé*, and the *Dukhrānāh d'Maryam*. Very often one gets greater spiritual gains from these simple *Ḳālé* than from the elaborate tones, in which the words are lost or not caught by the ears of the listeners through the twistings, falls, elevations, and cadences of the voice. Let this subject end here.

Chapter IX.

On the Sign of the Cross.

Let us examine now your other points. You write: "Show me a Christian who believes in Christ who crosses himself with one[5] finger that we also should do the same. What is there that matters in the act itself; if you wish, cross yourself with one finger, and if you wish, do it with two fingers."

[1] Matt. vii. 20.

[2] The author's description of a chanting poet is rather interesting.

[3] Which Doctor? A sentence may have possibly been missed in the preceding lines.

[4] These and the following Syriac words represent the first words of West Syrian liturgical prayers.

[5] Add an *Alaph* to *ḥdha*.

Lo the Syrians, the Egyptians, the Nubians, that is to say the Indians,[1] and the peoples of their neighbourhood, such as the Kushites (= Abyssinians) cross themselves with one finger. We have shown you above that the Book and nature agree with us on this point; but now that you have become the advocate of the Chalcedonians, show us either from yourself or from them the Doctor from whom they have received the meaning of the habit of which the two fingers are the emblem, and where it is written.

If the habit of crossing oneself with two fingers symbolizes the two natures, as the babbling nonsense of the Greeks has it, they crucify, therefore, both these natures as we have already written in the previous chapters. How could it be good to make the divine nature suffer and be crucified? If, however, there is nothing in the fact of crossing ourselves with one finger or with two, why do you then forsake the habit of crossing yourself with one finger, practised by your fathers, and make use of the practice of two fingers against your fathers? If, as you say, you are not a stumbling block to your children and to the children of your people—and it is more advantageous that one should not be a stumbling block and a boulder—when your people, with the presbyters, elders, dead and living bishops warn you that the practice is a stumbling block and a scandal, how is it that you do not heed them? Did you not see what Paul wrote: "If meat maketh my brother to stumble, I will eat no flesh for evermore."[2]

You write: "We believe in one nature in Christ, we add to the *trisagion: Qui crucifixus es pro nobis*, and we follow all the ecclesiastical canons of the Syrians; we do not reject those of the Romans but we respect them, as a son respects his father, but in the matter of the two natures we do not agree with them."

The Book says: "How long will you limp on your two hams?"[3] Now in which camp shall we see and count you? In that of the Syrians with whose faith you agree, according to your own words, or in that of the Greeks whom you do not reject,[4] and what is more difficult, whom you have made your fathers? Our first father is God,

[1] MS. Franks. It is astonishing that Barṣalībī should here (contrary to what he had previously stated) confuse the Franks with the Nubians. Does the addition emanate from a copyist? It is probable that the word *Franks* stands here for *Indians*.

[2] 1 Cor. viii. 13. [3] 1 Kings xviii. 21.

[4] Put a *Dalath* before *lā*.

from whom we are born in the spirit; our second father, and that in the flesh, is Adam; each one of us also has a carnal father of whom he is born; the name of "father" extends also to the holy Fathers, who, as we have previously shown, were not all Greek. The great Alexander, the promoter of the Council of three hundred and eighteen Fathers,[1] and Athanasius, his disciple, were Egyptian; and so also were the rest of the bishops who accompanied them from Egypt and Alexandria; Viton with Vincentius, the priests of Rome, and Hosius of the town of Cordova, and the rest of the Western bishops were Franks; Jacob of Nisibin, and Ephrem, his disciple, and Ith-Alaha of Edessa, and Mara of Macedonopolis,[2] and John of Persia, were Syrian.

Show us how are the Greeks your Fathers. The kind of pride you are taking belonged to the Jews who used to have pride in Abraham and say: "We have Abraham to our father,"[3] but Christ[4] answered them: "God is able from these stones to raise up children unto Abraham." Listen also to John Chrysostom how he rebukes those who take pride in carnal fathers, in origin, in earthly possessions, and in country, in all of which the Greeks your fathers and friends take pride: "Why are you proud that you are from a great country, while I would command you to be a stranger to all the earth? And why do you take pride in earthly possessions, you man, who, if you wish, can easily render all the world unworthy of you?"[5]

Christ was brought up in Nazareth, was born in Bethlehem, and laid in a manger. What profit had the children of Samuel in not imitating their father's conduct? And likewise the children of Moses? What harm came to Timothy from the fact that he was the child of pagan parents? In what was Canaan helped by Noah, his father? Children do not always help their parents, nor parents their children; indeed no help came to Esau from Isaac, nor to the Jews from Abraham. From these you will learn that neither parents help their

[1] That of Nicaea. [2] A town in Osrhoene.

[3] Matt. iii. 9.

[4] It was John the Baptist. The writer's or the copyist's inadvertence.

[5] Here is the whole passage: "Cur enim de patria altum sapis, quando ego, inquit, in toto orbe te peregrinum esse jubeo? Quando licet tibi talem esse, ut totus mundus te non sit dignus?" *Pat. Gr.*, lvii. 181. Much of what follows is also taken by Barṣalibi from Chrysostom (*ibid.*, 181, 182).

children, nor the children their parents, but each one is justified by his works and his deeds.

Neither the Greeks are our fathers nor the Romans, nor are the Jews the fathers of Christians: all these are loose[1] expressions and old women's tales. If Yawan,[2] the father of the Greeks, was born before Aram, our father, there might have been occasion for discussion, but when this is not the case, how did you then glory in the not very weighty words of those haughty and arrogant people. It is written in the prophets: "A son honours his father, and a servant his master; if I am a father, how is it that you do not honour me, and if I am a master, how is it that you do not fear me, saith the Lord Sabaoth."[3] What do you say about this? God says that He is the Father and the Lord of us and them and of all peoples, and you establish them as our fathers, our lords, and our superiors because of some of their *Canons* that happened to be translated in our Service-books! This is not the saying of a wise man.

If it is because of these *Canons* and because of four or five books of theirs that we have translated that they are so arrogant, our Lord was a Syrian, and they have translated all His teaching into their language; and in case we pretended to be their fathers, we might say that lo all the Melchites who resemble them take great pleasure in the teaching of St. Jacob. The Greeks take also great pleasure in the teaching of the great Athanasius and Cyril, both of whom Egyptians, while the Franks take great pleasure in the teaching of Xystus, and the Franks, we and they in that of Hippolytus, Julius and others. Let them, therefore, not show arrogance against truth. These will suffice for this point.

Chapter X.

On the Trisagion.

You also discuss with us the *trisagion* in which you have written that the Greeks say: *Sanctus es Deus, Sanctus es Pater omnipotens.* Let it be known to you that the Chalcedonians do not refer all the

[1] Add a feminine *tāu* to the adjective.

[2] The Syrians call the Greeks *Yawnāyé* and they believe that they are descended from a first father called *Yawan* or *Yavan.*

[3] Mal. i. 6.

trisagion to the Father, as you write, but to the Trinity, because they say: "*Sanctus es Deus Pater, Sanctus es omnipotens Filius, Sanctus es immortalis Spiritus Sancte, miserere nobis.*" We Syrians, with the Armenians, the Egyptians, the Abyssinians, the Nubians, and the Indians, refer the *trisagion* to the Son.

There are some who say that when Joseph brought down the body of our Lord from the Cross, people saw that angels had set up three choirs, the first of which saying: "*Sanctus es Deus*," and the second: "*Sanctus es omnipotens*," and the third: "*Sanctus es Immortalis:*" then Joseph and Nicodemus were moved by the Spirit and said: "*Qui crucifixus es pro nobis*—i.e. for mankind—*miserere nobis.*" This was immediately received in the Churches, and Ignatius the fiery, the disciple of John, established it in the Churches. Some others, however, say that it has been established after Nestorius had been rejected from the Church, but they are wrong. The Fathers said that it was that fourth Person,[1] with the human nature which was crucified, who, although God, omnipotent and immortal, wished to become flesh for us, and not another kind of nature.

The Chalcedonians say that the *trisagion* is derived from the *Sanctus* found in Isaiah. As the Seraphim glorify the three persons of the Trinity with the thrice repeated *Sanctus*, so we also should refer the *trisagion* to the Trinity. Against them we will write as follows:—

The One whom Isaiah saw on a high throne and the seraphim round him is the Son. This we know from John the Evangelist who says: "These things said Isaiah about Him when he saw His glory."[2] Cyril, John Chrysostom, and other Doctors teach us that it was the Son, the Word, that Isaiah saw on the throne and not the Father. We also believe that it is He who is the door and that it is through Him that we go to the Father. He says: "I am the door; by me if any man enter in, he shall find life."[3] In the fact that we refer the *trisagion* to the Son we may go up to the Father and say: "Our Father who art in heaven." And in referring the glory to the Son

[1] The mention of a fourth Person in connection with the Incarnation by a monophysite writer is somewhat strange. Does he refer to Nestorian Fathers?

[2] John xii. 41. [3] John x. 9.

we speak in the Holy Spirit: "No man can say: 'Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit.'"[1]

We say further that the Seraphim said: "Holy, Holy, Holy, heaven and earth are full of His glory,"[2] and they did not say: "Thou art holy O God, Thou art holy O Omnipotent, Thou art holy O Immortal." If the Doctors have explained the thrice repeated "holy" as referring to the three persons (of the Trinity), and if the *Sanctus* of the liturgy also: "*Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Omnipotens, pleni sunt,*" etc., refers to the three persons, although addressed to one of them only, let them show us from where they learned that the *trisagion* of "Sanctus es Deus" refers to the Trinity. The prophet says only: "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus," and the words "Deus, Omnipotens, Immortalis" have been added afterwards.

That this *trisagion* refers to the Son to whom it is appropriate is known by the following: we say "Holy art Thou O God the Son," because He became flesh although remaining God; and we say: "Holy art Thou O Omnipotent," because He put on our weak body although remaining omnipotent in His divinity; and we say: "Holy art Thou O Immortal," because He died in the flesh although remaining immortal like God. What passage is it of the heretic Macedonius or of any other who attributed mortality to the Holy Spirit that the Chalcedonians want to refute when they say: "Holy Thou art O immortal Holy Spirit." They have really no apology to offer. The words of the *trisagion* have been attributed by the Doctors to the Son because He became flesh, put on the weak and mortal human body, and was addressed by them as "God," "omnipotent," "immortal," and "who hast been crucified for us" in the flesh.

If they refuse this and say that the *trisagion* refers to the Trinity, let them only say: "Holy, holy, holy," and not: "Holy art Thou O God," and the remaining "Omnipotent" and "Immortal." The Nestorians and the Chalcedonians, in order to take from the middle the question of the crucifixion, and to introduce the division of nature and natures, and count in Christ two attributes, powers, and wills, and in order not to admit that we crucify the Son in the flesh, avoided the reference of the *trisagion* to the Son and attributed it to the Trinity,

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 3. [2] Is. vi. 3.

not paying sufficient attention to what Paul said: "God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ."[1] John the evangelist also said: "glory to the cross."[2]

The theologian said in his discourse on the passover: "We had need of a God becoming flesh and dying in order that we may live with Him. We died that we may be purified, and we rose with Him. Many miracles occurred at that time: God was crucified, the sun suffered eclipse and then shone again. It was necessary that the creatures should suffer with the Creator."[3] Now where does this Doctor put division in Christ? Where does he say that man died or that human nature was crucified? He openly declared that God became flesh, died and was crucified.

Let it be also known to you that if, as the Greeks believe, the *trisagion* refers to the Trinity, and the sentence *Qui crucifixus es pro nobis* is taken away from it, it would not only refer to the Trinity, as they say, but also to angels and demons; which is blasphemy. The angel or the demon might indeed say: "I am a God,"[4] because they are Spirits; and Satan said about himself: "I will ascend above the stars of heaven, and I will be like God,"[5] and Paul also said: "Whose minds the god of this world hath blinded."[6] Satan calls also himself "omnipotent," because he is constantly watchful in his war against the saints, and he even made bold and fought the Christ. He is also "immortal" because he does not die.

Consider well, therefore, where the *trisagion* might lead, if we did not add to it *Qui crucifixus es pro nobis;* indeed the *trisagion* of the Greek may reach Satan! When, however, the words *Qui crucifixus es pro nobis* are added to it, no one can refer "crucifixion" to an angel or a demon, because this would be impossible; nor could then the *trisagion* be referred to a mere man, because "immortality"

[1] Gal. vi. 14.

[2] Or: "to the crucified." In which passage? At the end of the sentence is the redundant verb *ḳārē*.

[3] Here is the whole passage: "Opus habuimus Deo, qui carnem acciperet ac moreretur, ut vivamus. Commortui sumus, ut purgemur; simul resurreximus, quoniam simul mortui sumus; simul glorificati sumus, quoniam simul resurreximus. Quamvis autem permulta illius temporis miracula fuerint: Deus nempe in cruce pendens, sol obscuratus ac rursus inflammatus. nam creaturas quoque Creatori condolere oportebat." *Pat. Gr.*, xxxvi. 662,

[4] Cf. Is. xiii. 14. [5] Is. xiii. 12-14. [6] 2 Cor. iv. 4.

which is expressed in it is not referred to a man. The *trisagion* is, therefore, to be truly referred to the Son, and Word—God who became man, and who is both mortal and immortal : mortal in the flesh, and immortal in His Godhead, and He was crucified on our behalf.

You mentioned that the Armenians at the Nativity say one thing and at the Epiphany say another thing, and on some other occasion some other thing. This, however, does not matter, since they refer the *trisagion* to Christ. As we say in the Passion week : "O Christ, who by His passion delivered us from error," and as at the beginning of the Gospel we say : "At the time of the Nativity of our Lord," or "at the time of His Baptism, at the time of His Economy, at the time of His resurrection" as the case may be, so also the Armenians do with the *trisagion*, and use it according to circumstances.

We gave ourselves all this trouble for your salvation, not yours alone, but that of many others who will listen to us. The prophet said : "He who taketh forth the precious from the vile shall be as my mouth."[1] Do not throw, therefore, truth behind you, and abandon an old habit. Who is the man who can be so forgetful of his own self as to hate a human being ? We do not hate the Greeks, but the schisms which they brought into the midst and the divisions which they introduced into the Church. For a certain number of years I only disclosed the trouble caused by five of their innovations in five points of faith ; had I disclosed at length all the disturbances they had caused, they would have been ashamed of themselves, because not all of them are aware of what happened to them. I warned them several times to let everyone go his own way without recrimination against his neighbour of another creed, but they showed no desire to heed our advice. I wrote chapters concerning their habits, and also on the fact that we should be permitted to enter their churches, and be allowed to pray for them and they for us ; I also wrote many other chapters to rebuke them and point to the disturbance that they would be causing in the Church if they did not desire to live in peace and concord. For several reasons, however, among which is the fact that they have no responsible director and head, I kept my tongue and did not disclose what we are now aiming at.

[1] Jer. xv. 19.

Because, if God gives me life, I have the intention of exposing little by little all their teaching and comparing it with the interpretation of the holy Doctors, and of outlining afterwards our own teaching and interpretation and those of the Doctors. We have written the present pages in haste, but we have confidence that we shall not find ourselves in need to write to you again on the same subject, and that you will rather constitute yourself a preacher of truth, and thus possess your own soul and that of the many who fell like you. In case you remain stubborn in your old ideas, and in case light and darkness are on the same footing with you, it is your own business, but there is a great day which will make manifest all the hidden secrets of mankind.

Let it be also known to you that it is very pleasing and agreeable to God that there should be no divisions in the Churches of Christians ; it would have been also more just that the Greeks should have torn and pulled at[1] their own flesh, but they are so steeped in iniquity as to say that there are no other Christians but themselves, and they inflict more harm on our community and on that of the Armenians than the Turks. As I said above, I warned several times the Greeks of Melitene that they and the Syrians and Armenians should love one another and not to growl at one another like wolves and lions, but their madness reached such a pitch as to say like their fathers : "You are not Christians" and other similar ugly offensive words which are in keeping with their iniquity.

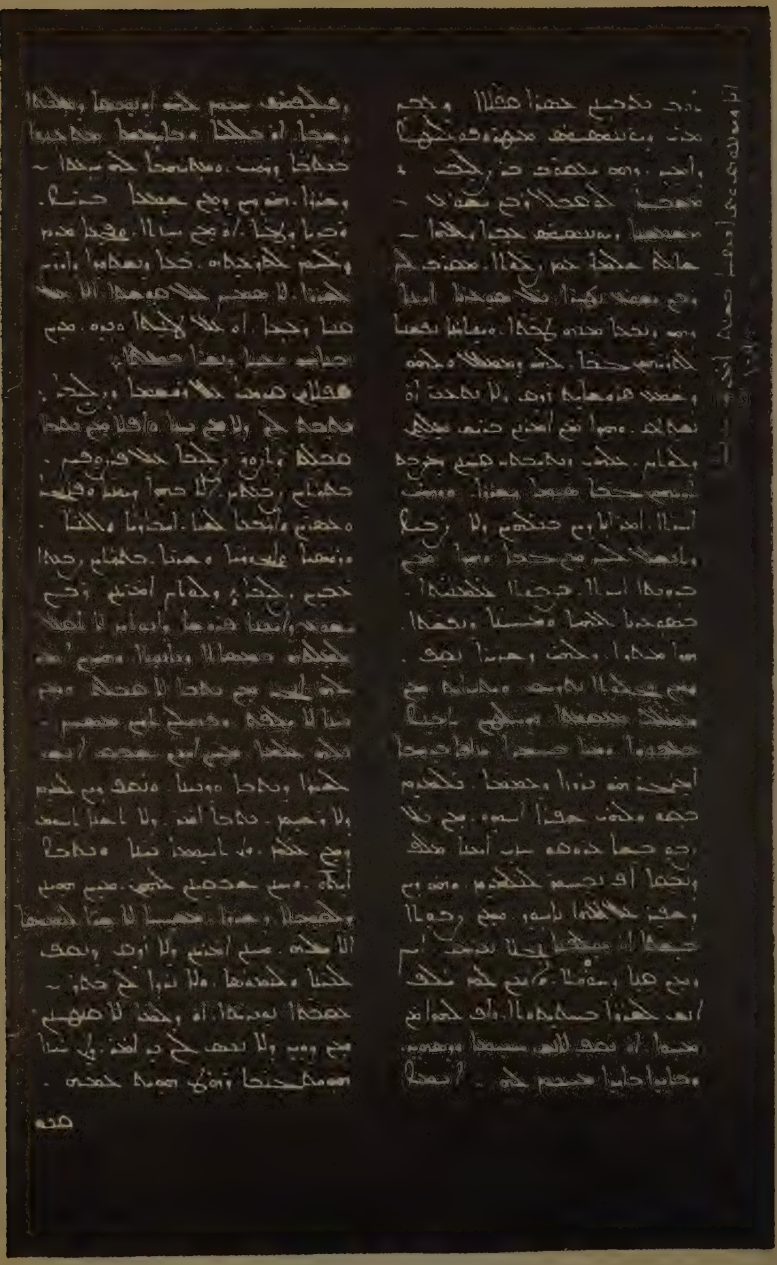
I wished to sow peace in the camp of the hostile parties, and to convince them from the books of the Apostles and Doctors that it is not good that they should contend with one another, but that they should enter one another's Churches, and pray with love, and if necessary to come nearer to one another and remember one another in prayers, with the understanding that each one may follow his own theological convictions, but they did not condescend to reconciliation.

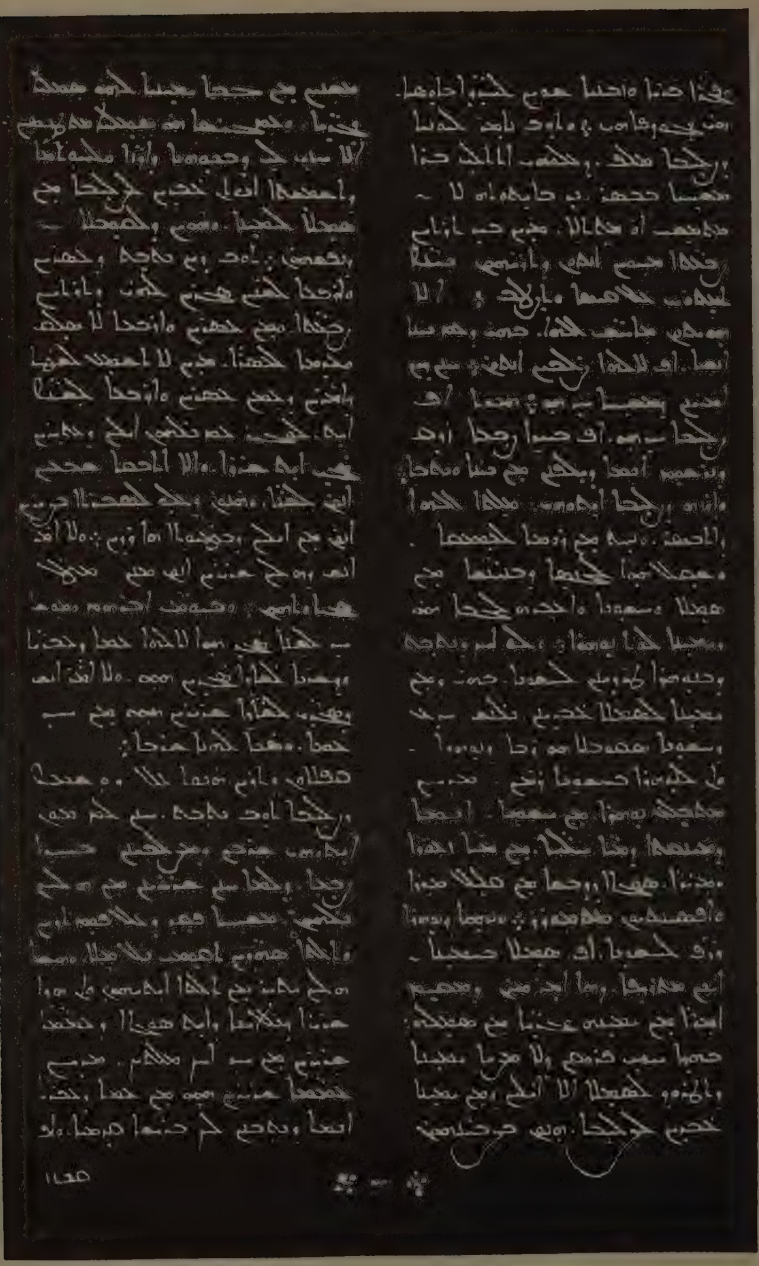
When I examined their madness and noticed that it was that of insolent people, I retorted and said to them : since you are so incurable, and believe that truth, which you do not know, is with you, bring first the testimony and the signature of your bishop, priests and notables, and I on my part shall also bring those of our Patriarch, our bishops,

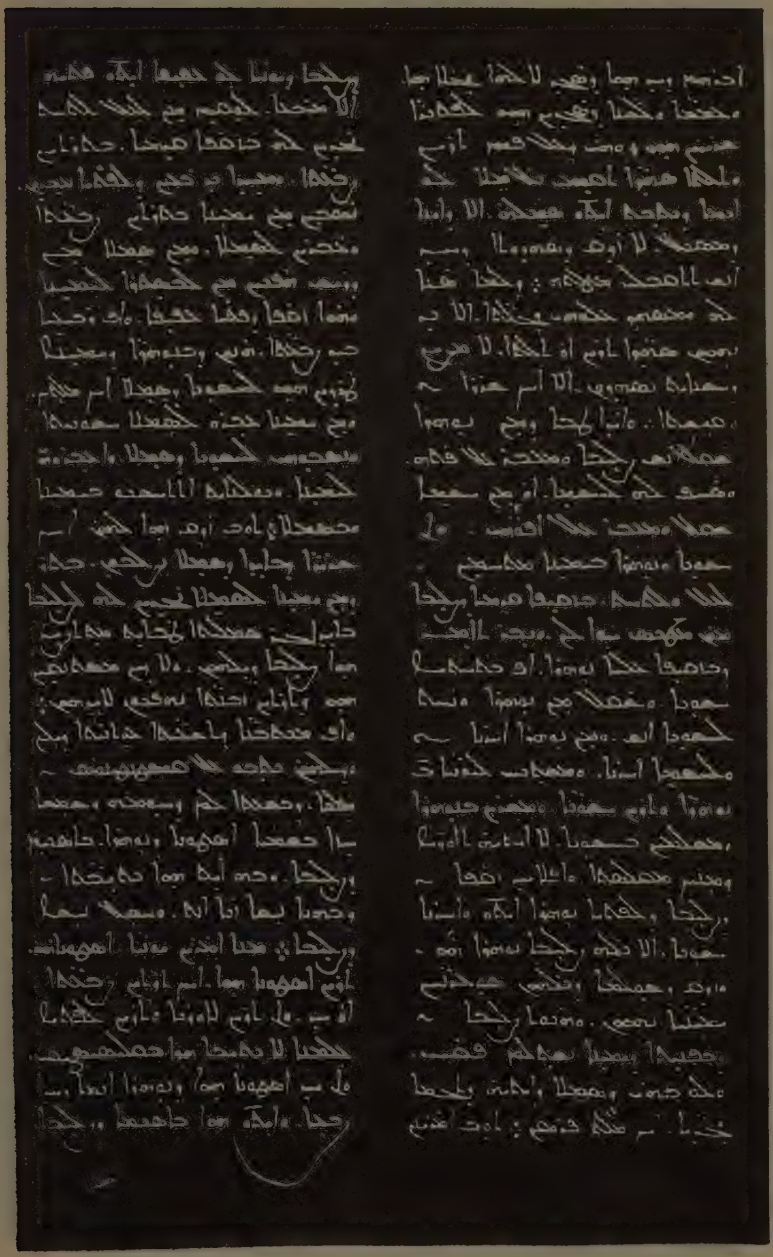
[1] Read *nbasbsūm* for *nnaskiston.*

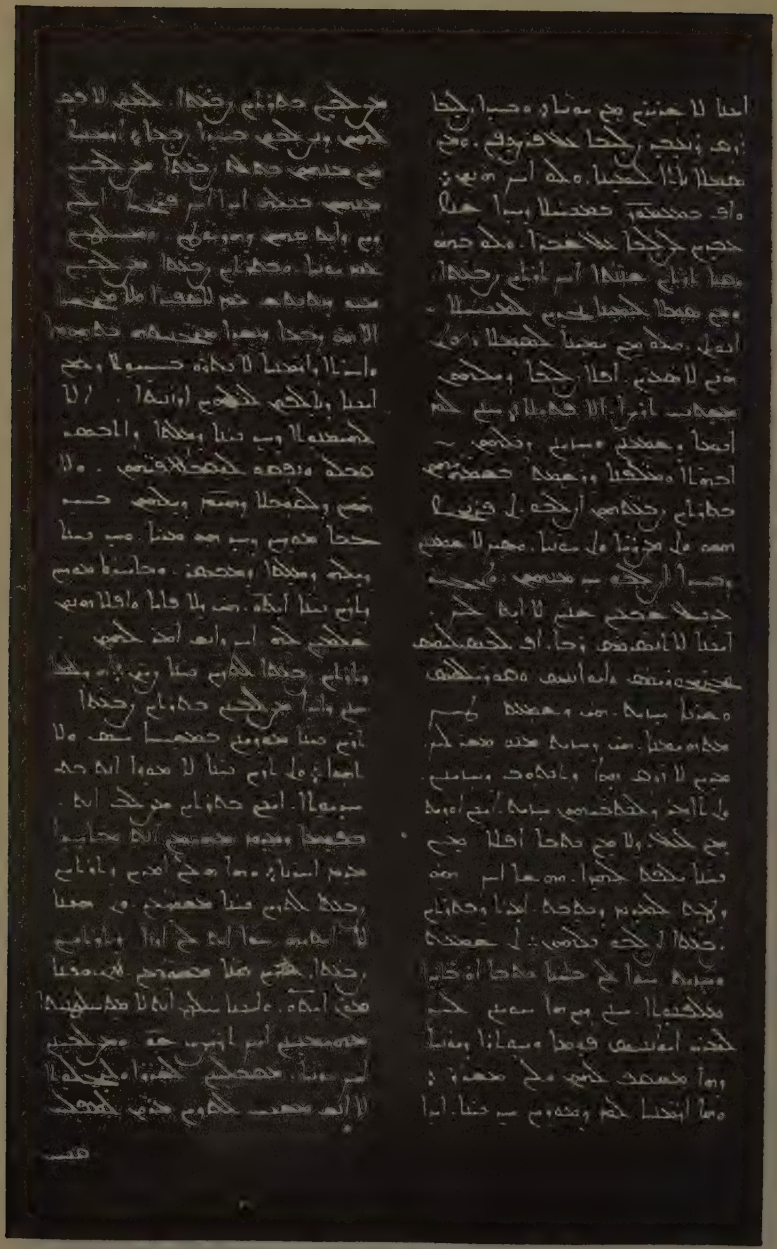
priests, and notables, to the effect that (in a public discussion which we will hold on religious questions) either party shall be pleased with the truth which shall there be revealed, and that either of them shall embrace it when revealed ; that in the discussion no party shall abuse the other, or rebuke him and refer to extraneous subjects. By the help of God I shall on that day disclose everything to the sun with justice and equity, in spite of the fact that the affair requires labour, time, helpers and promoters.

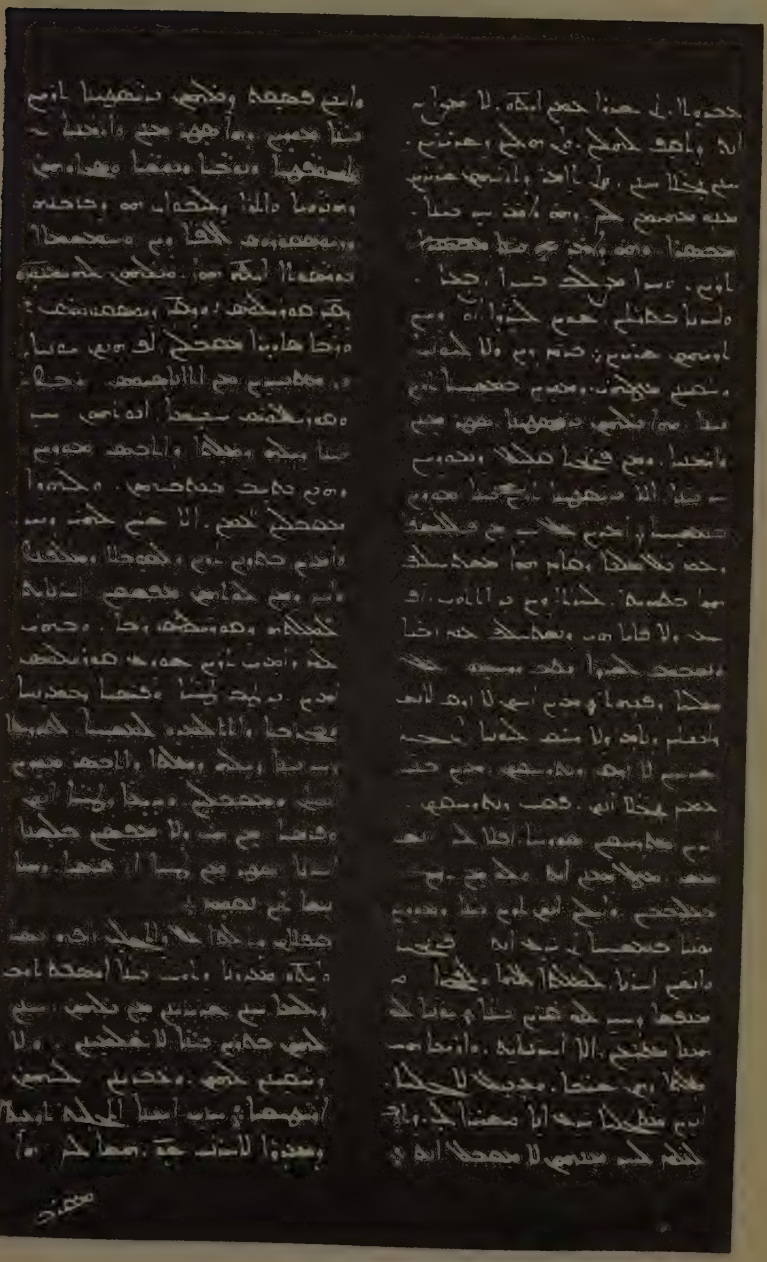
Here end the ten chapters.

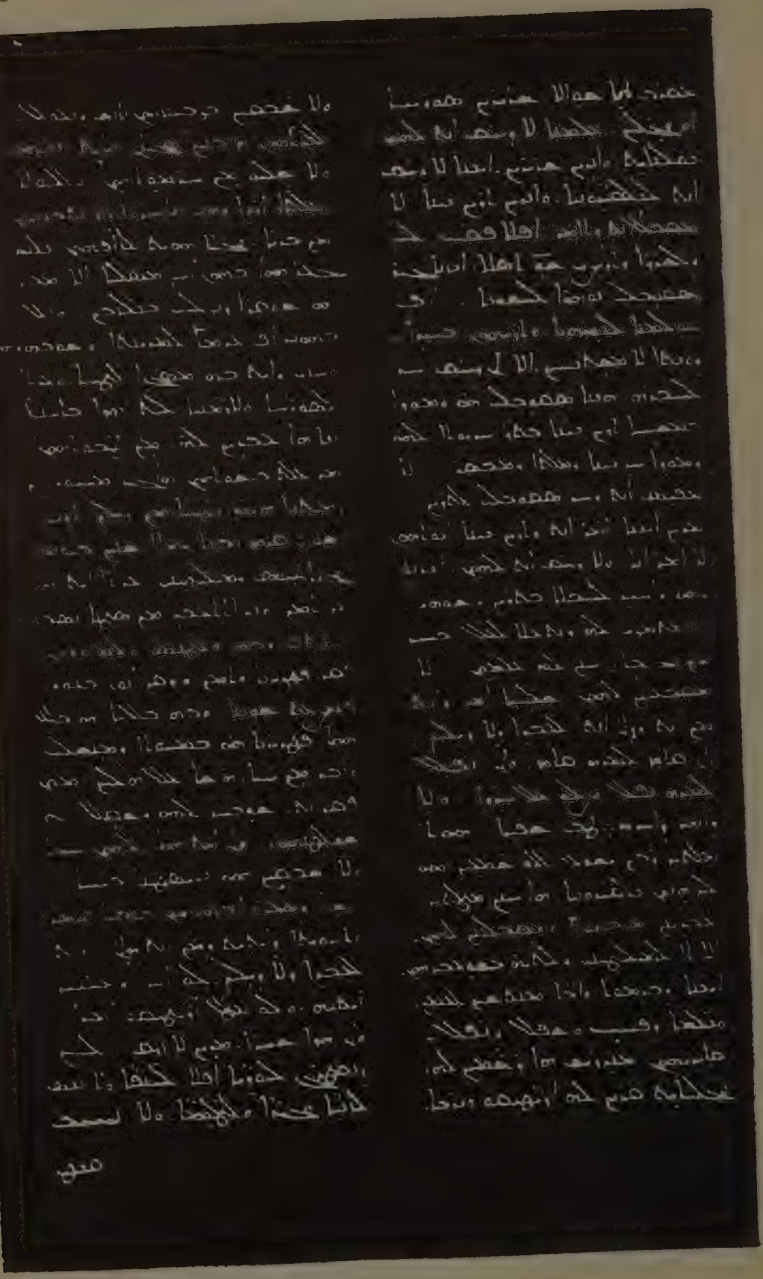


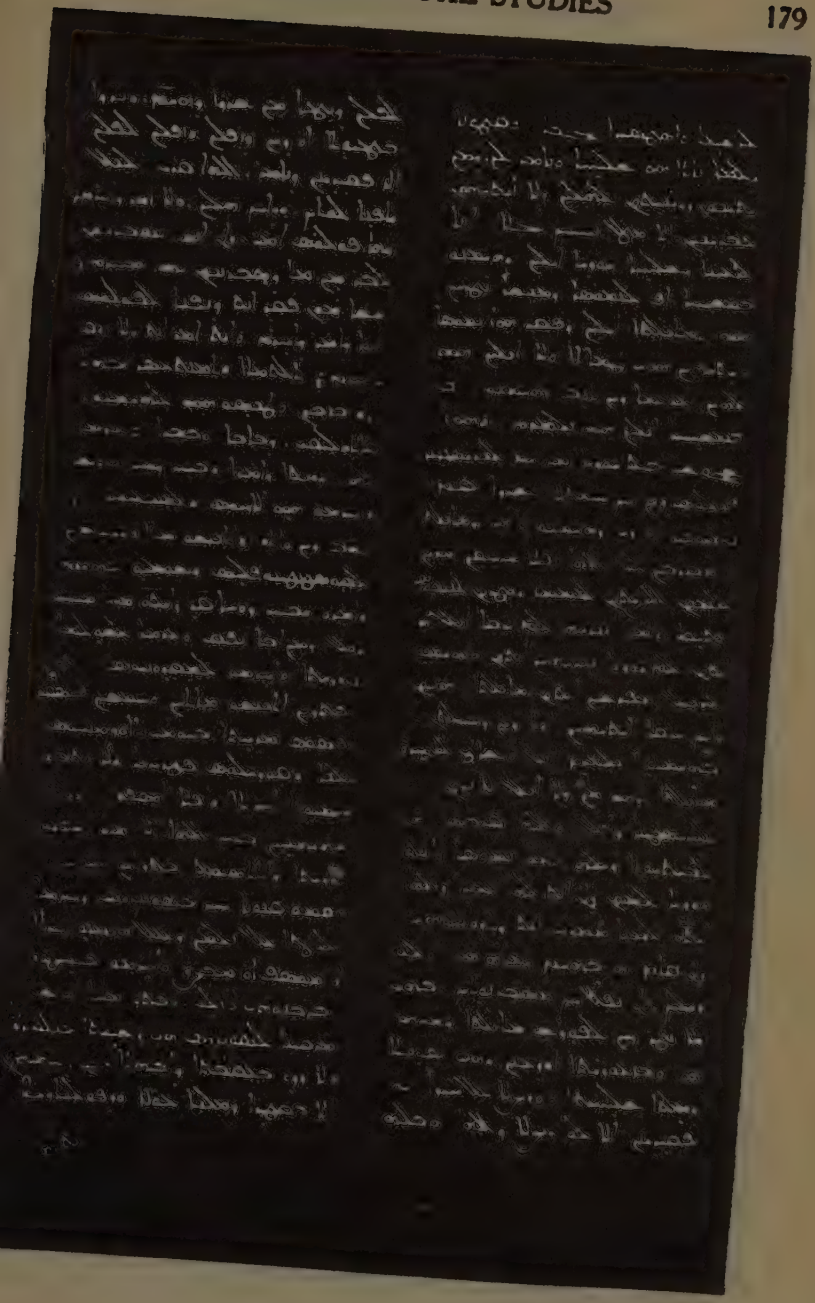


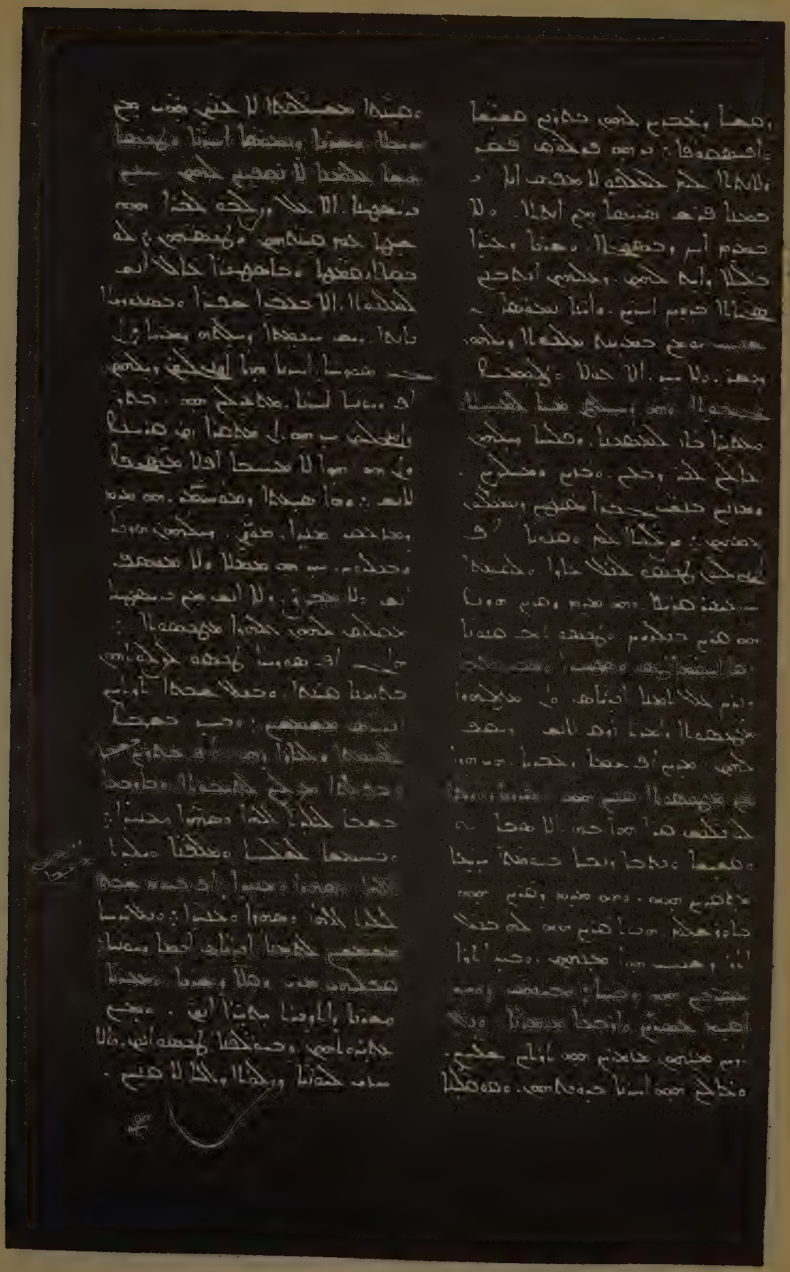


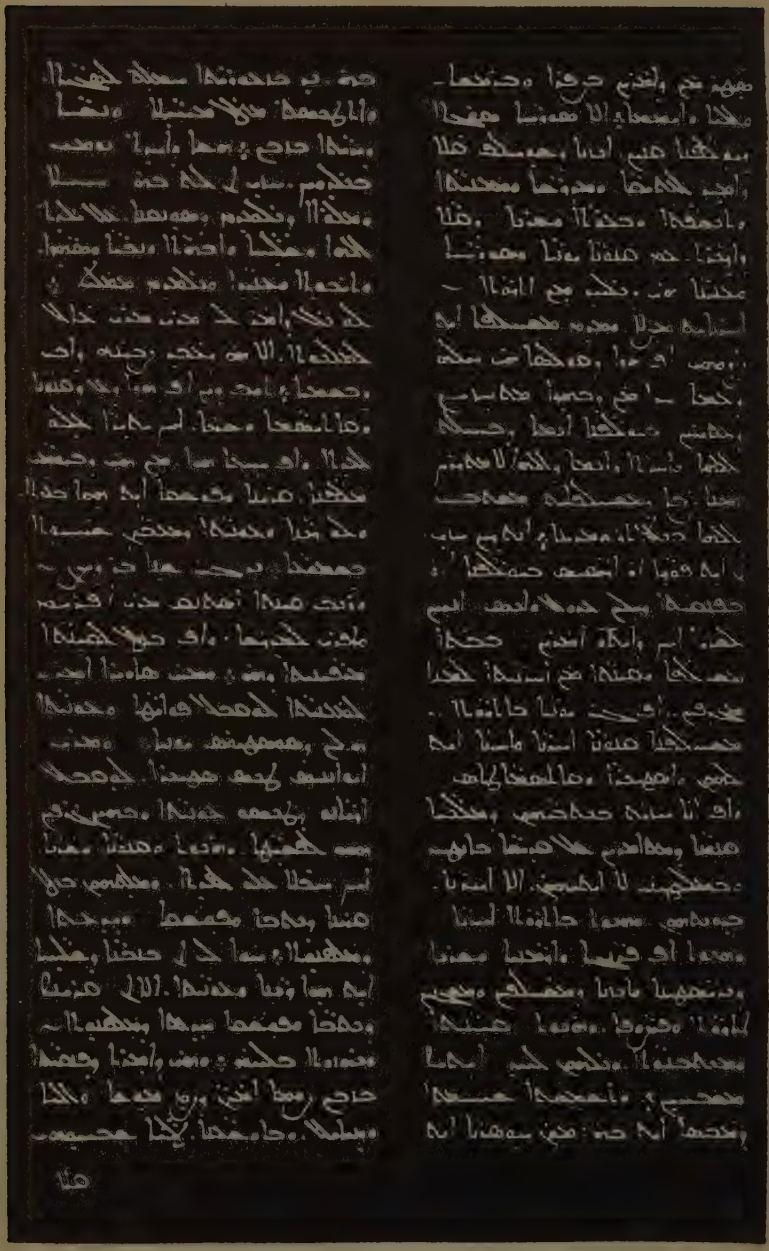


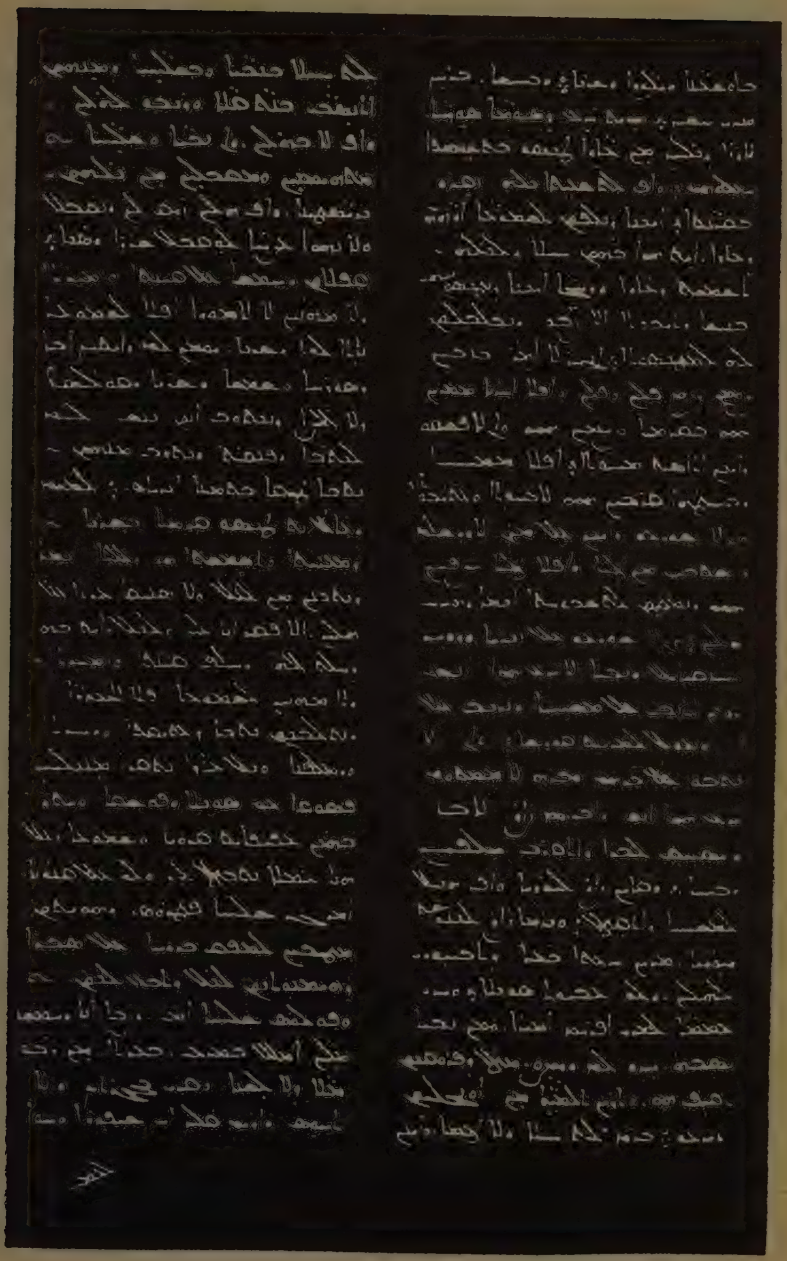


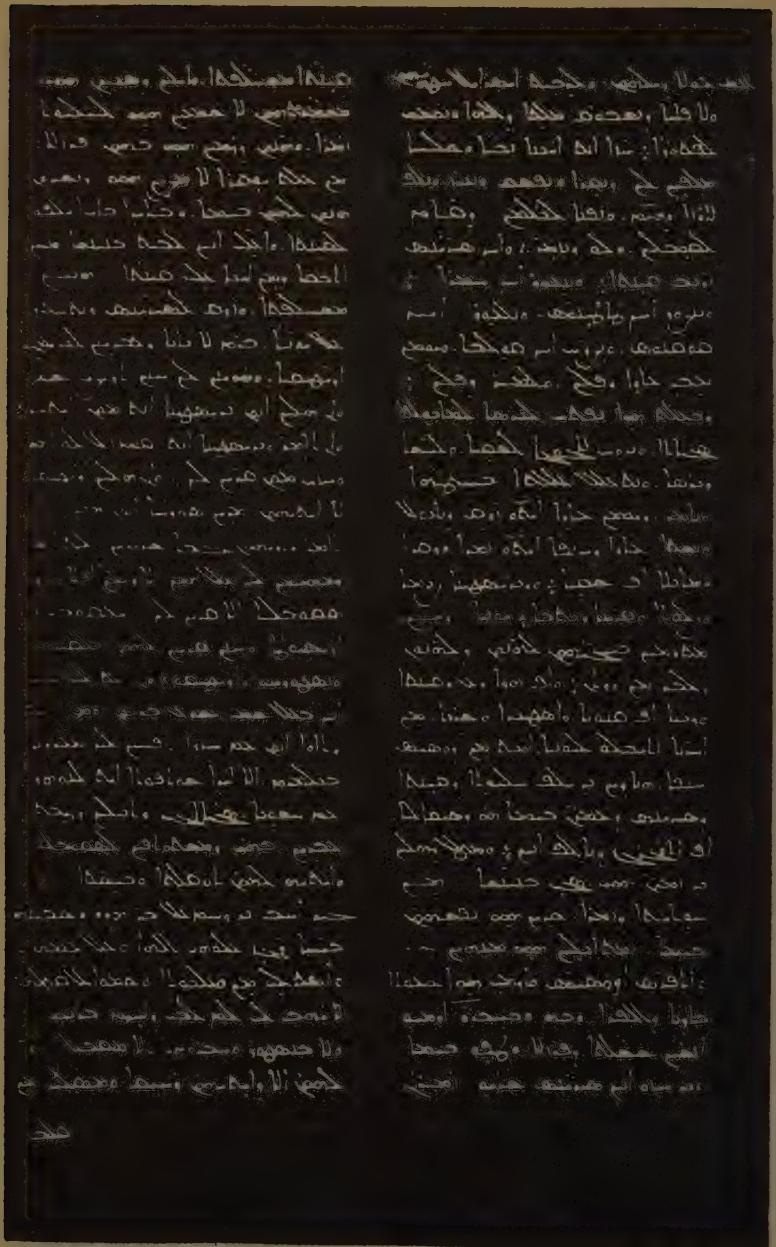


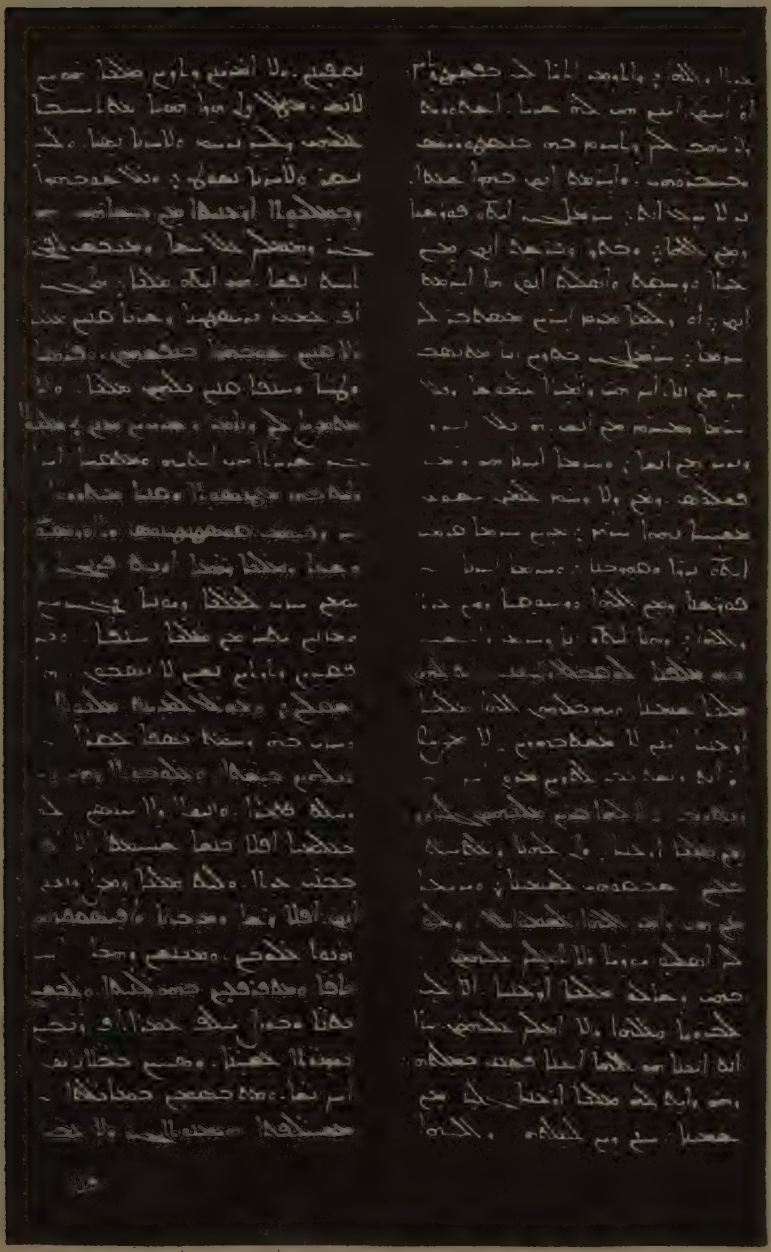


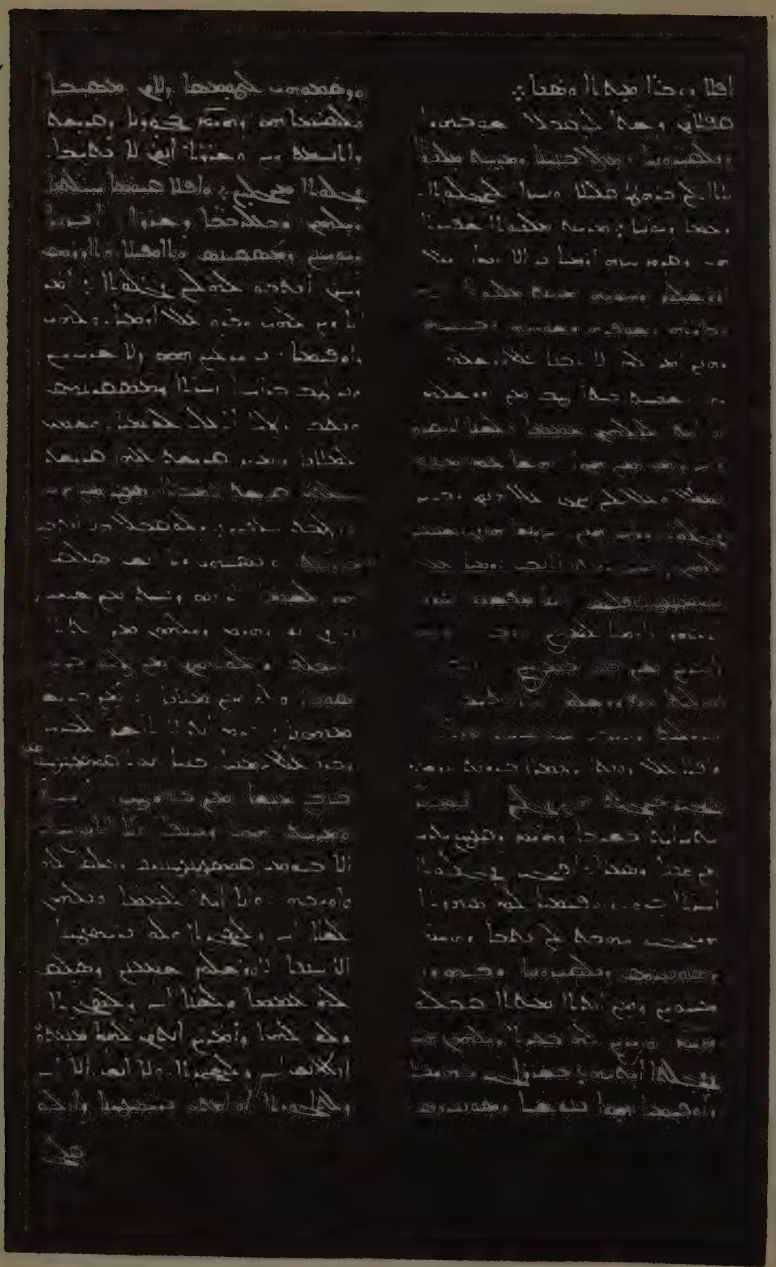


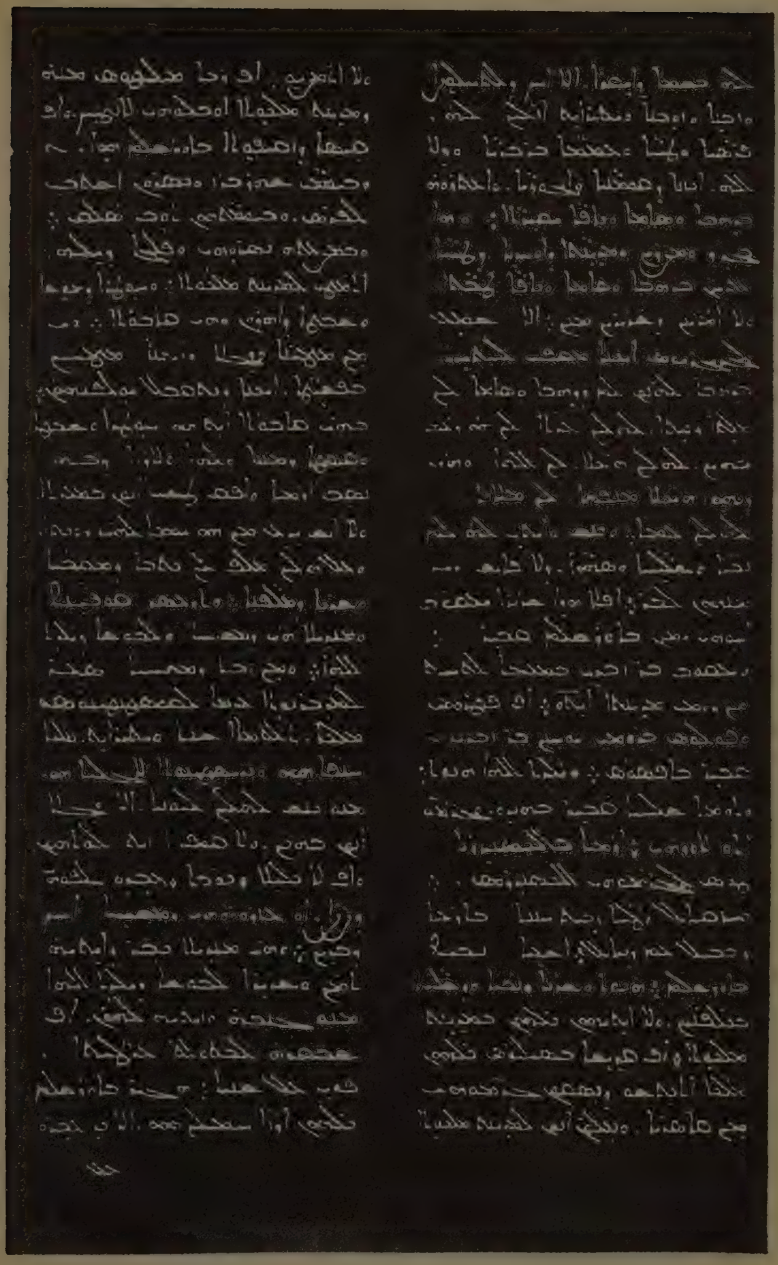


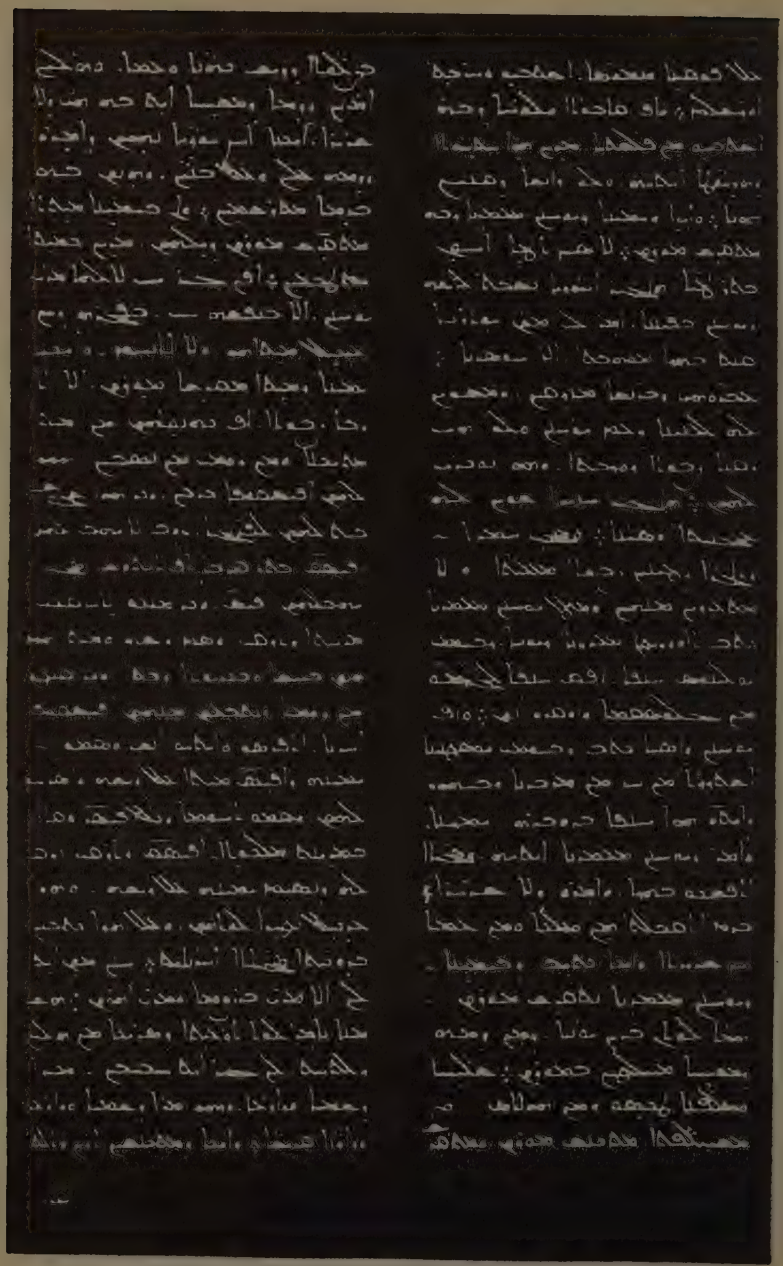


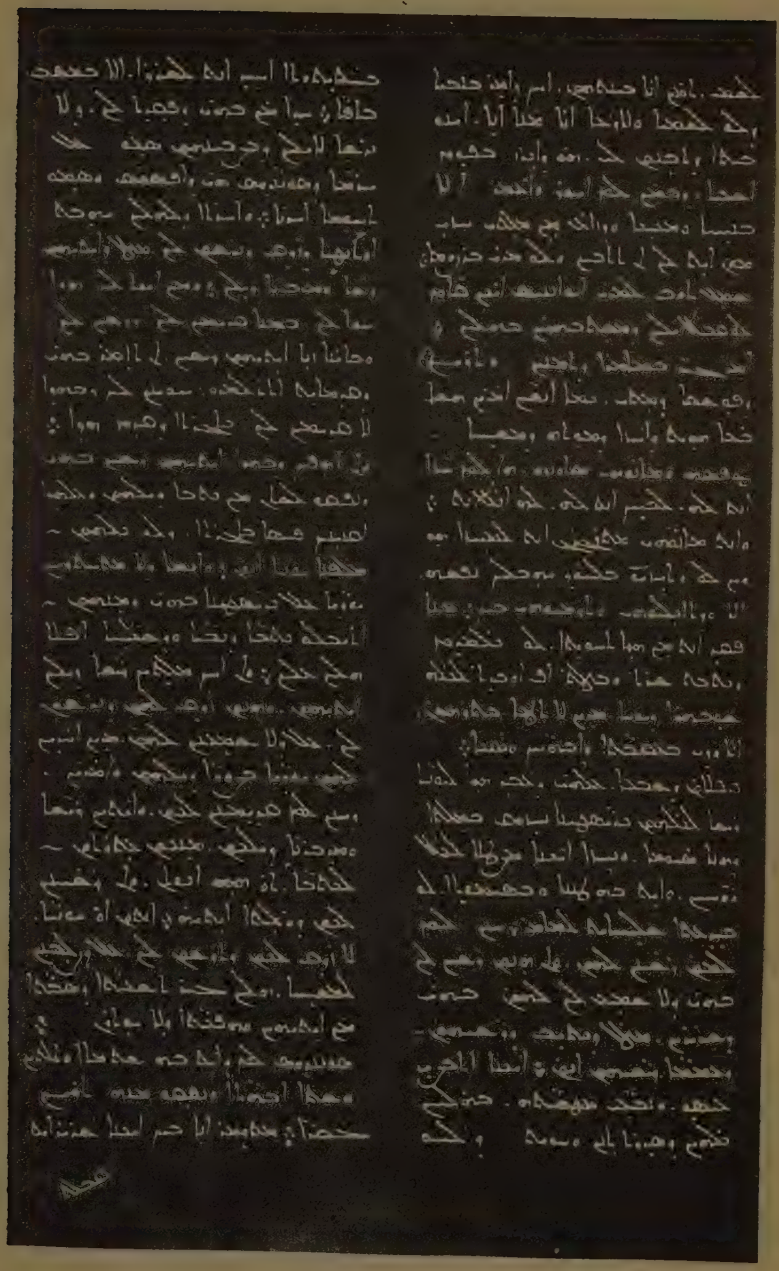


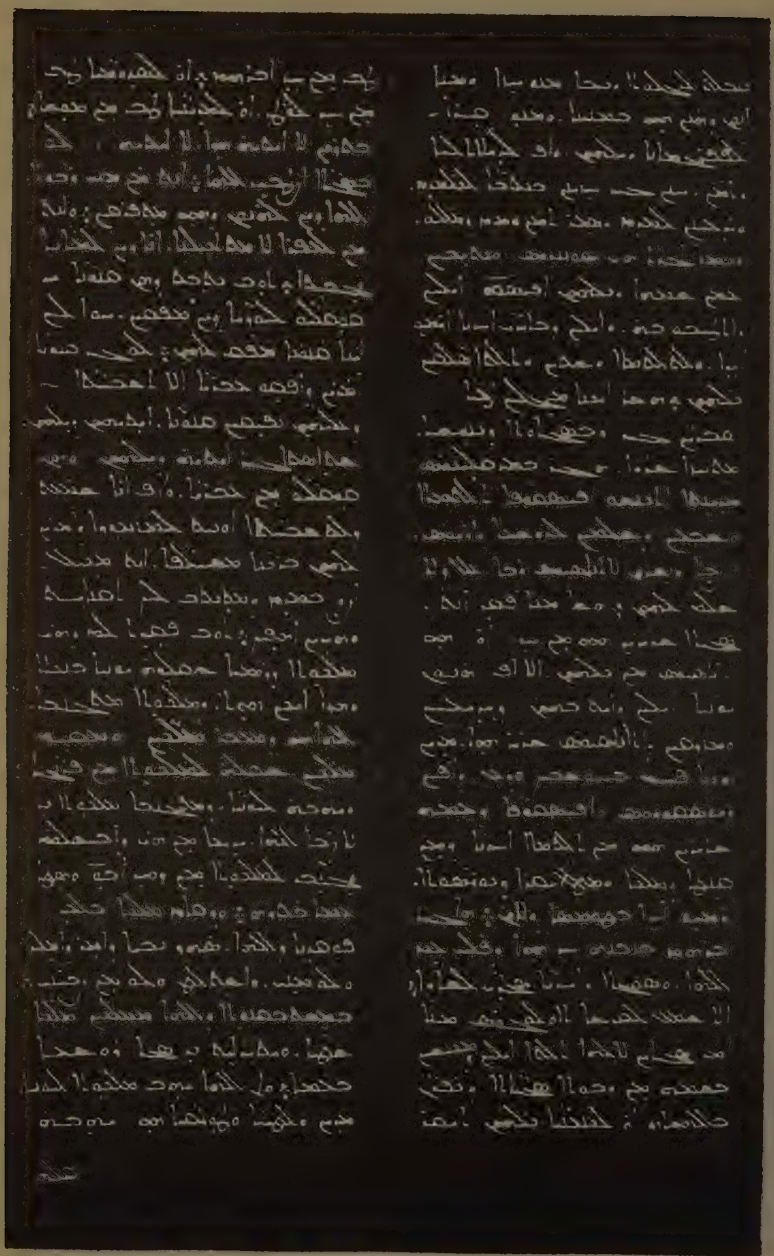


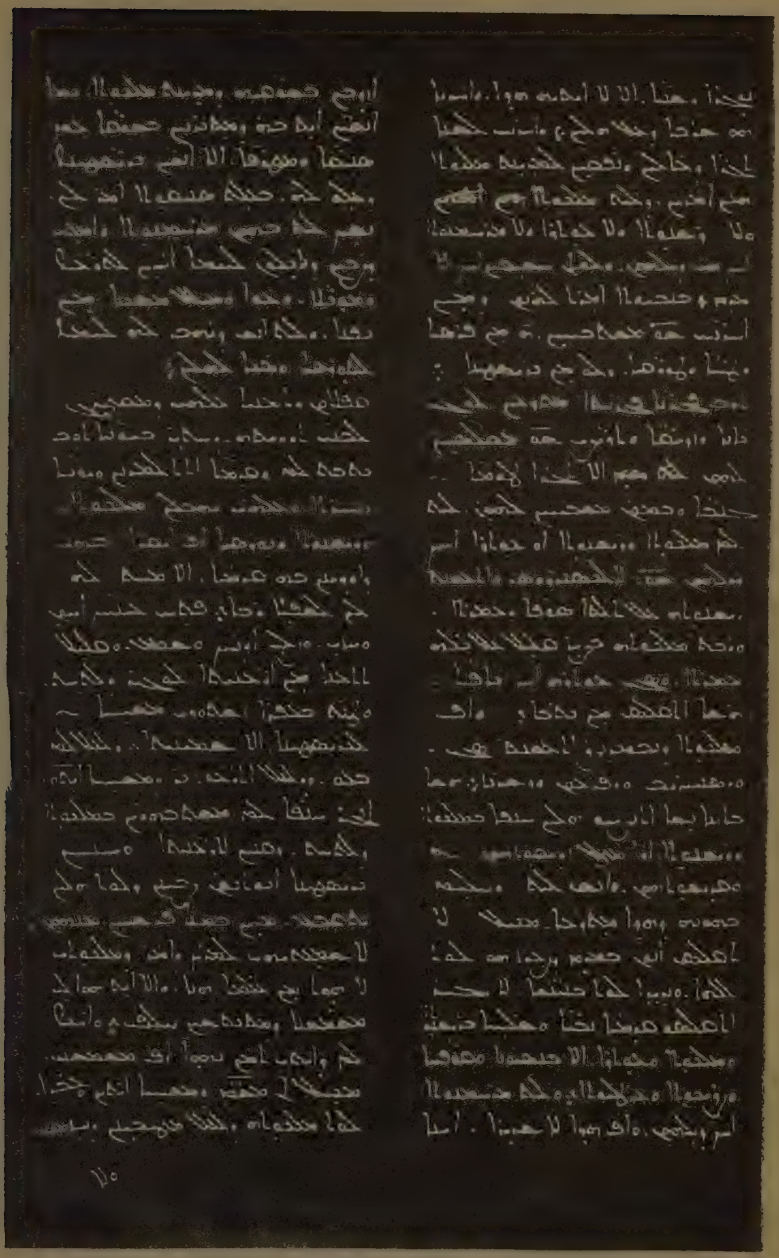


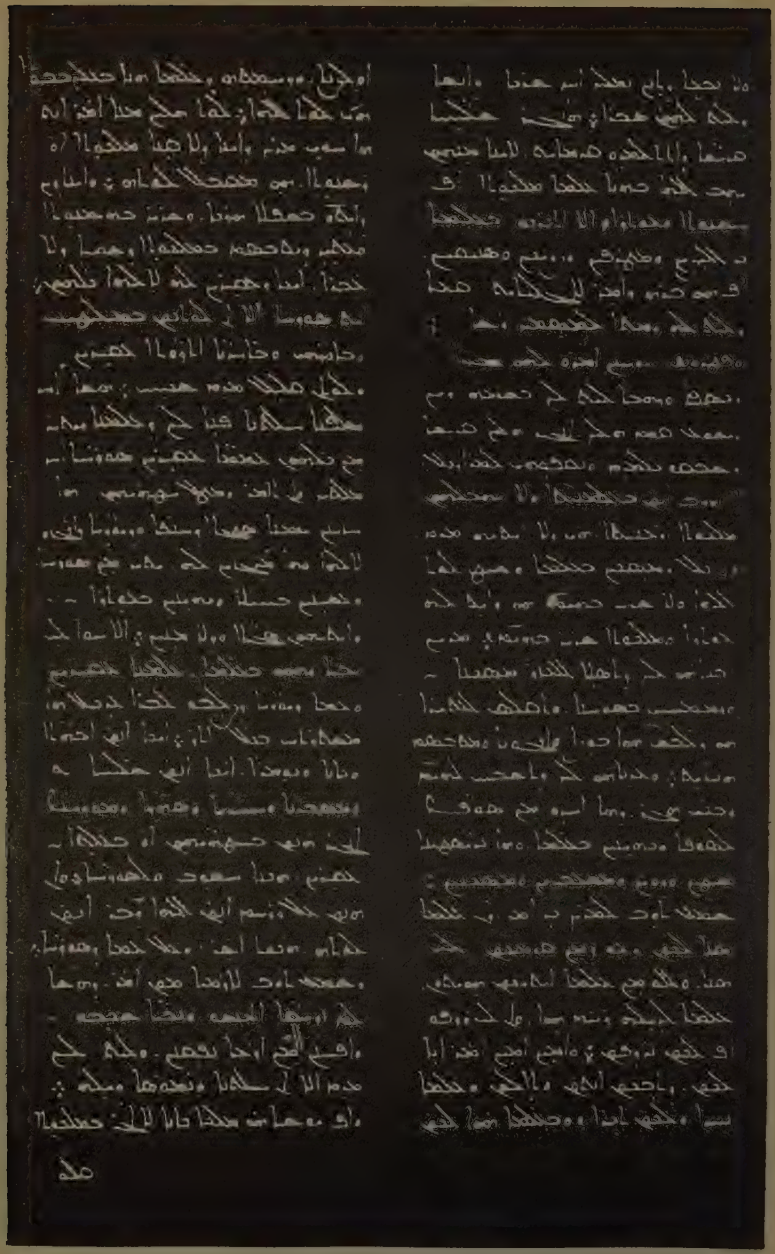


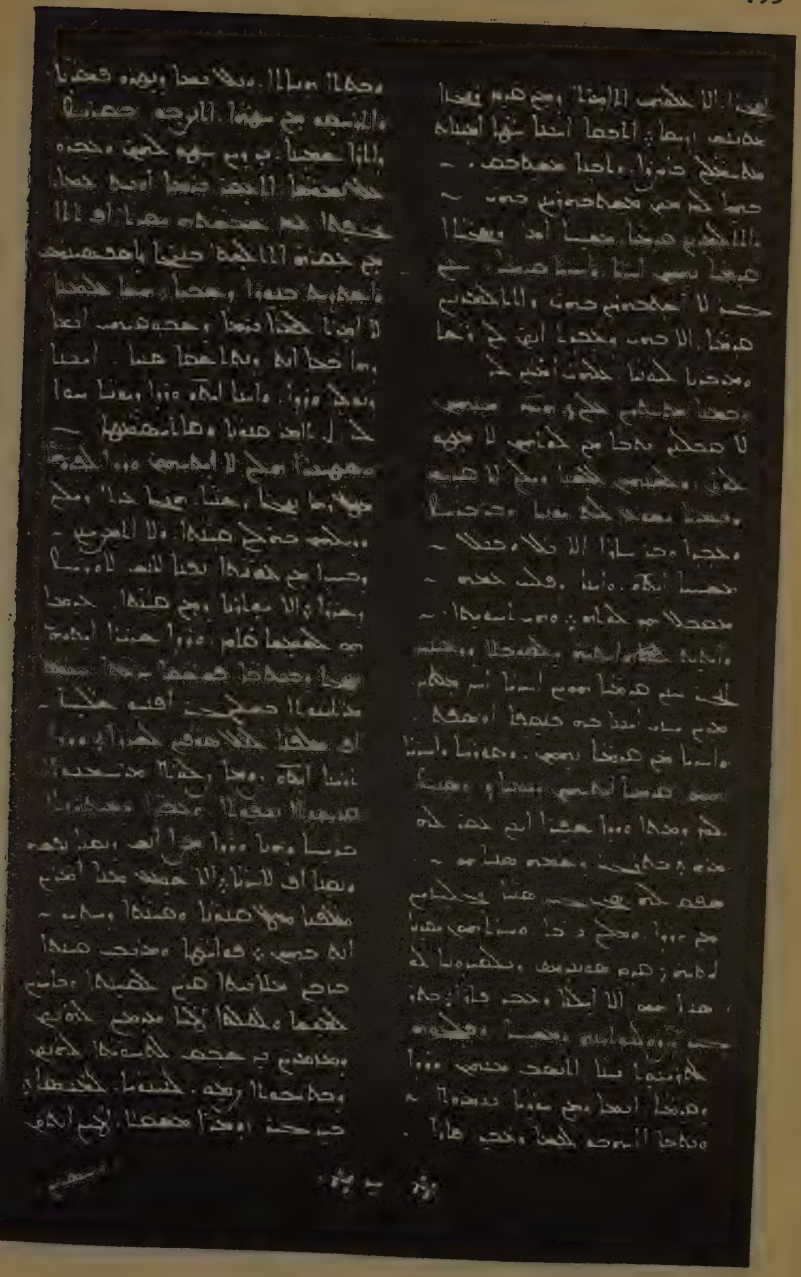


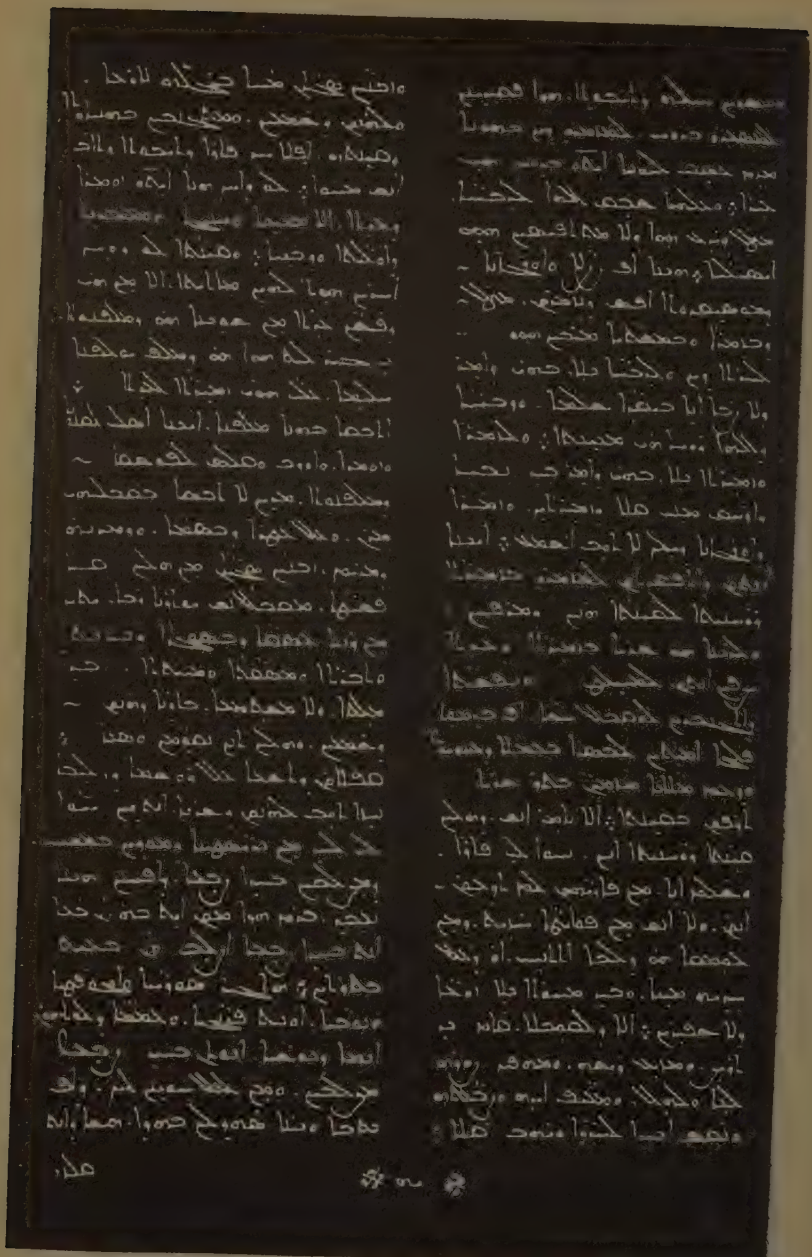


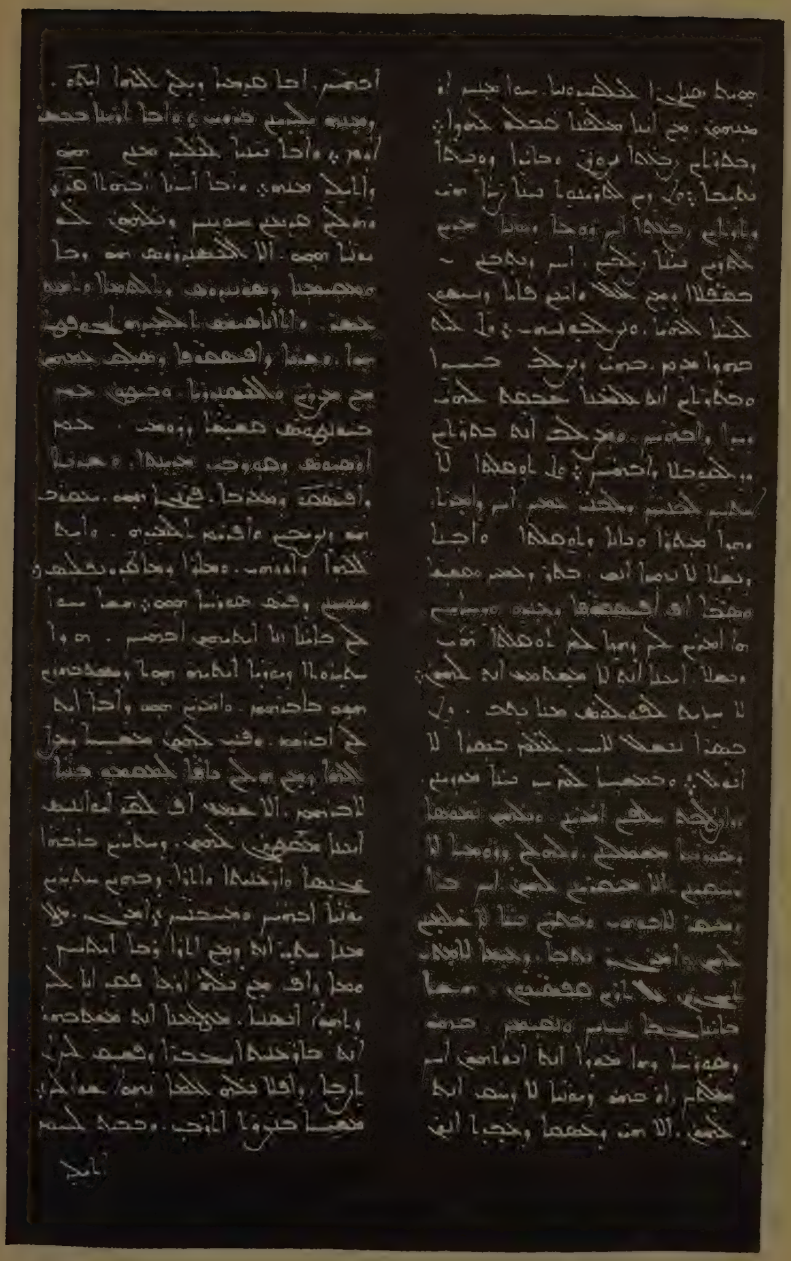


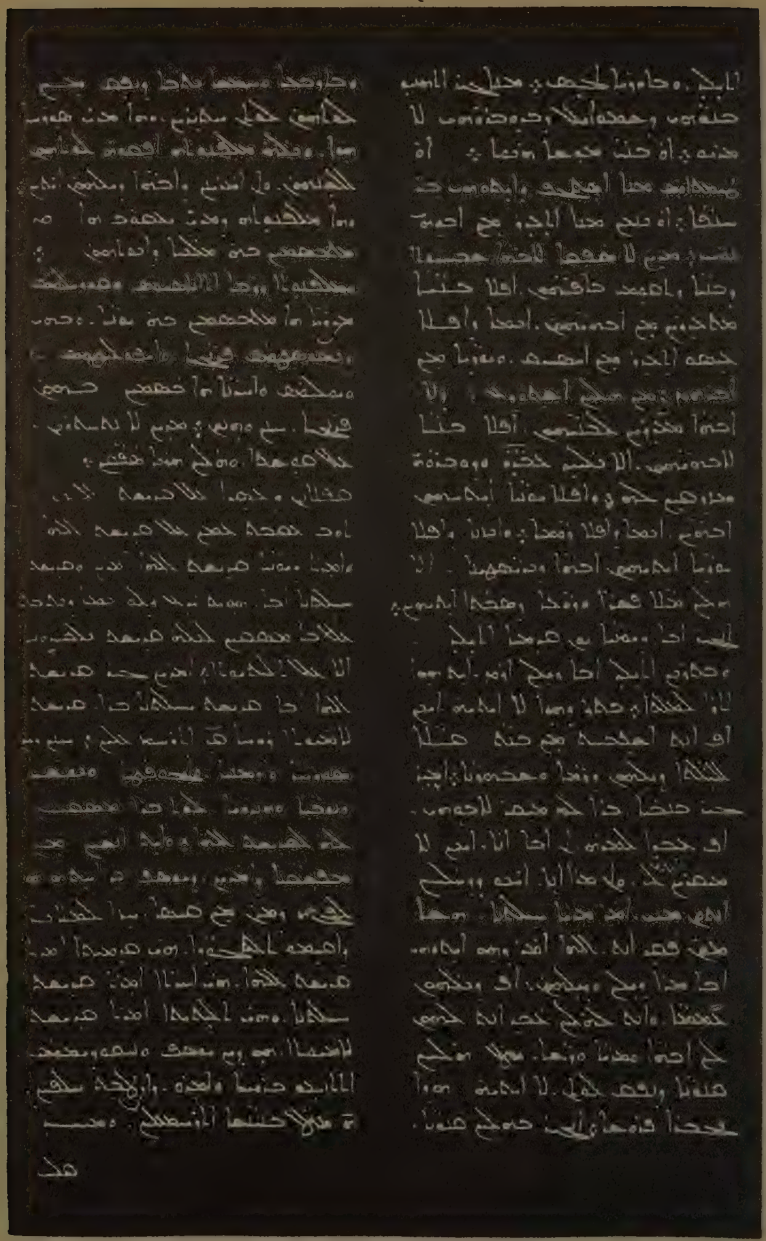


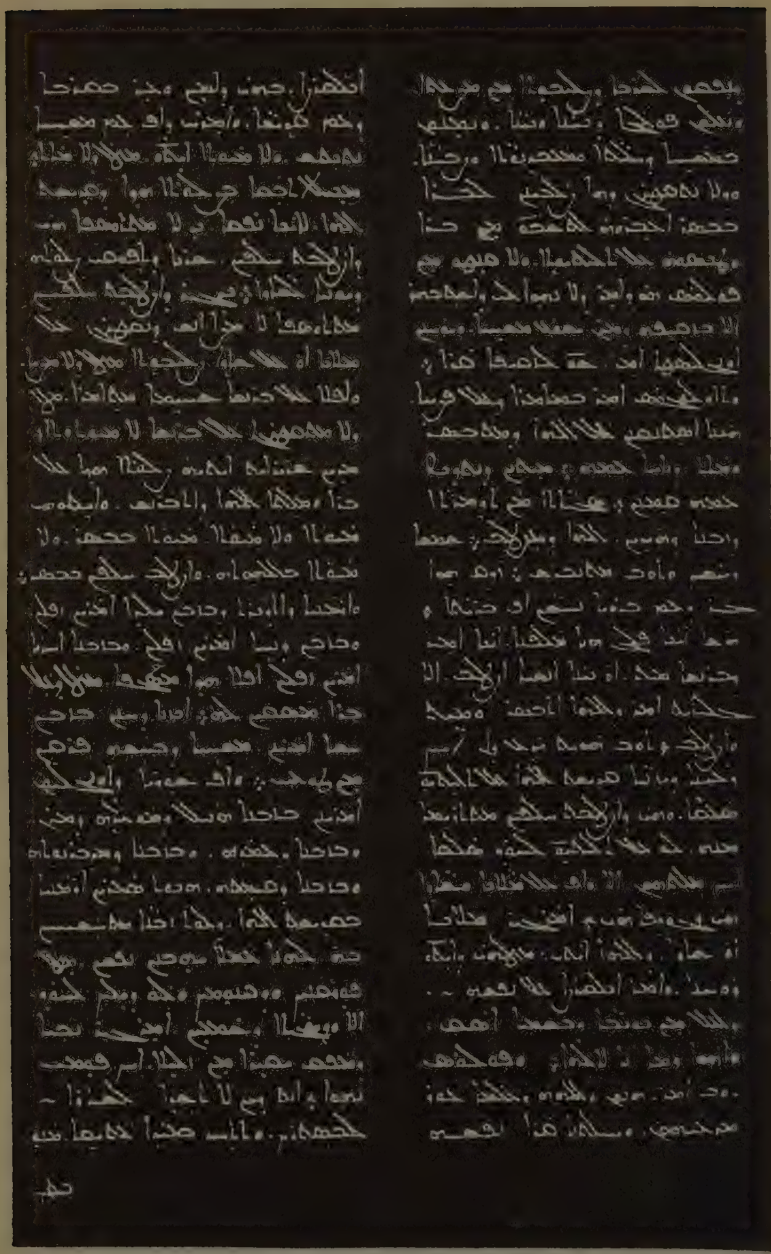


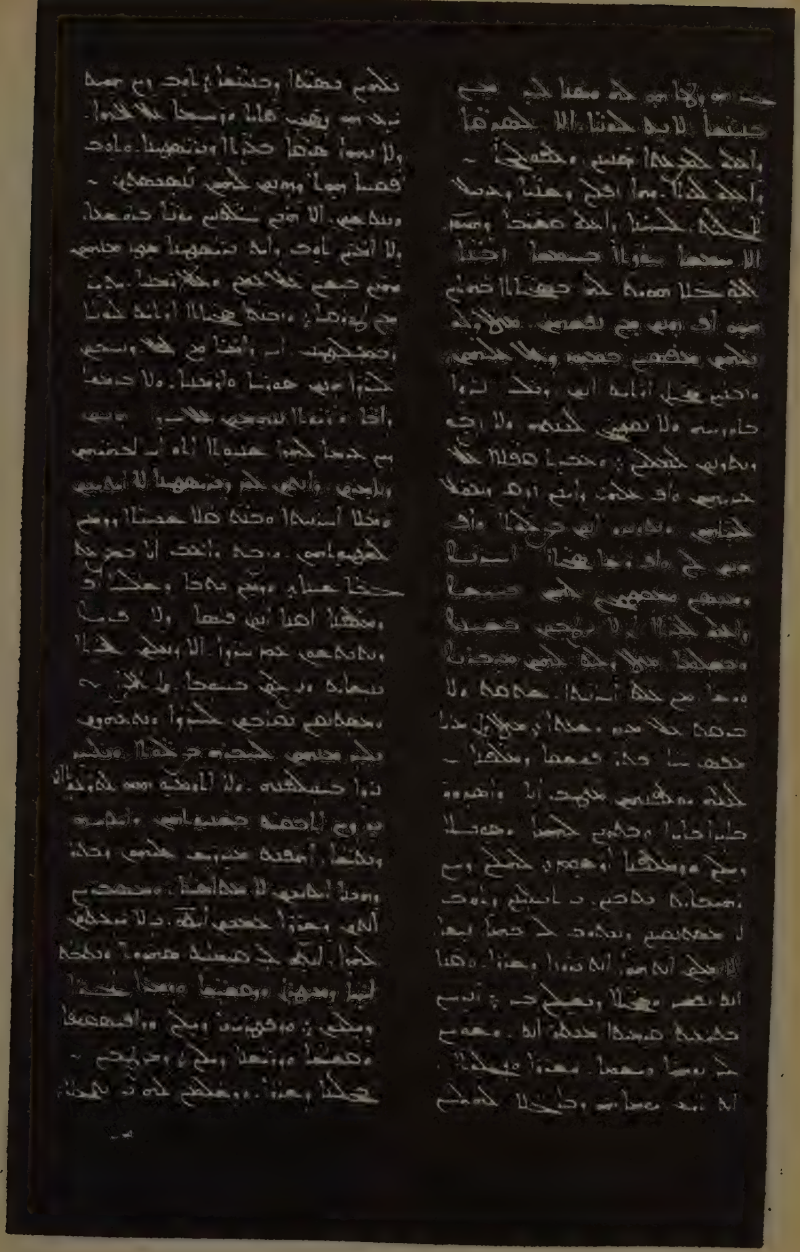












INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

A.

Aaron, 150.
Aaron (Monophysite saint), 153.
Abel, 144.
Abraham, 130, 143, 155, 164.
Absalom, 156.
Abyssinian, 134, 166.
Adam, 164.
Ahab, 146.
Alan, 127.
Alexander, 157.
Alexander (bishop), 164.
Alexandria, 164.
Amed, 126.
Antioch, 142, 150.
Arab, 135, 147, 149, 156.
Arabic, 135.
Aram, 165.
Arius, 138, 143, 155.
Armenians, 133, 134, 136, 149, 166, 169, 170.
Athanasius, 132, 135, 155, 164, 165.

B.

Babylonia, 150.
Bagdad, 150.
Bardaiṣan, 142, 143.
Barṣauma (Monophysite saint), 153.
Basil, 132, 150.
Benhadad, 146.
Bethlehem, 164.
Byzantion, 149.

C.

Cæsarea, 150.
Cain, 144.
Cairo, 150.
Canaan, 164.
Canaanite, 155.
Chalcedon, 138, 149.
Chalcedonian, 135, 136, 146, 160, 163, 165, 166, 167.
Chosrau, 150.
Constantine, 132, 147, 151.
Constantinople, 136, 138, 149.
Cordova, 164.
Cyril (of Alexandria), 132, 134, 135, 138, 165, 166.

D.

Daniel, 143, 150.
David, 127, 140, 143, 156.
Dionysius (Barṣalibi, the author), 126.
Dioscorus, 134, 155.

E.

Edessa, 150, 159, 164.
Egypt, 148, 164.
Egyptian, 132, 134, 163, 164, 165, 166.
Elijah, 143.
Ephesus, 138, 150, 154.
Ephrem, 142, 144, 164.
Esau, 154, 164.
Euphemia, 149.
Ezechiel, 143, 150.

F.

Frank, 127, 132, 134, 139, 147, 152, 156, 164, 165.

G.

Greek (mainly), 127, 129, 131, 134, 139-140, 147, 152-153, 154-155, 156-157, 159-161, 164, etc.
Gregory (Nazianzen), 132, 139, 150, 155, 168.

H.

Hagar, 158.
Harran, 149.
Hebrew, 130, 140, 156.
Hellenism, 139.
Heraclea, 152.
Herodias, 151.
Hippolytus, 165.
Hosius, 164.
Hungarian, 127, 150.

I.

Iberian, 127.
Ignatius (of Melitene), 136.
Ignatius (of Antioch), 166.
India, 150.
Indian, 134, 166.
Isaac, 144, 164.
Isaiah, 166.
Isho' (Rabban), 126, 127, 139, 159.
Israelite, 161.
Ith-Alaha (of Edessa), 164.

J.

Jacob (of Nisibin), 164, 165.
Jacobite, 146.
James, 150.
Jeremiah, 148, 150, 159.
Jerusalem, 140, 148, 149, 150.
Jesus, 160.
Jewish-Christian, 137.
John (of Asia), 151.
John (the Baptist), 151-152.
John (Chrysostom), 128, 132, 133, 143, 153, 164, 166.
John (of Damascus), 149.
John (the evangelist), 150, 158, 166, 168.
John (of Persia), 164.
Joseph, 166.
Joshua, 146.
Julian, 151.
Julius, 165.
Justinian, 151.

K.

Kumanians, 149.
Kushites, 163.

L.

Lazarus, 158.
Leo, 149.
Libya, 134.
Lot, 155.

M.

Maccabees, 150.
Macedonians, 138.
Macedonius, 167.
Macedonopolis, 164.
Madecolinus (Milan), 155.
Manasseh, 149.
Mara, 164.
Marcian, 138.
Matthew, 128, 153.
Melchite, 142, 165.
Meletius, 150.
Melitene, 136, 142, 159, 170.
Midianite, 155.
Moses, 128, 130, 137, 143, 146, 150, 155, 161, 164.
Muhammad, 142.
Muhammadan, 136.

N.

Nazareth, 164.
Nebuchadnezzar, 157.

Nestorius, 138, 146.
Nestorians, 146, 166, 167.
Nicodemus, 166.
Ninevite, 161.
Nisibin, 164.
Noah, 164.
Nubian, 134, 163, 166.

O.

Odysseus, 145.

P.

Palestine, 151.
Paul, 126, 137, 138, 147, 150, 163, 168.
Persia, 150.
Persian (people), 135, 147, 149, 157.
Persian (language), 135.
Peter, 150, 158.
Pharaoh, 157.
Philip, 127.
Philistine, 151.
Pulcheria, 138.

R.

Roman, 139, 147, 156, 163, 165.
Rome, 139, 150, 152, 164.
Romulus, 139.
Russian, 127.

S.

Sabellius, 138.
Samuel, 146, 147, 164.
Scylla, 145.
Sennacherib, 157.
Seraphim, 166-167.
Severus, 134, 143.
Shahrbaraz, 150.
Sheba, 127.
Siren, 145-146.
Sodomite, 155.
Sustius, 143.
Syrian (mainly), 133, 134, 135, 136, 141, 157, 159-160, 164, 165, 169-170.

T.

Theodore, 149.
Theodoret, 138, 151.
Theodosius, 138, 147.
Theopaschites, 129.
Theophilus, 149.
Thomas, 128, 150.
Thrace, 152.
Timothy, 164.
Turk, 156, 157, 170.

V.

Vespasian, 160.
Vincentius, 164.
Viton, 164.

X.

Xystus, 165.

Y.

Yawan, 165.

Z.

Zebedee, 150.
Zechariah, 143.

(ii) *Genuine and Apocryphal Works of Ignatius of Antioch.*

Prefatory Note.

A.

The following pages contain the text and the translation, accompanied by a critical apparatus, of an "exhortation to priesthood," attributed to Ignatius of Antioch. I have edited the text from the two extant MSS., designated here as P. and M. P. indicates the Paris MS. Syr. 198[1] and M. indicates a MS. of my own collection in Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham, marked Syr. MS. Mingana 223. Both MSS. are undated, but on palæographic grounds can be ascribed to about the sixteenth century. While the two MSS. come near each other in point of date, they are totally different as to the country of provenance. There are stylistic peculiarities in P. which indicate that it was copied in Syria, and there are linguistic features of the same domain which seem to indicate that M. was written in Mesopotamia.[2] The orthography used in the two offers considerable variation, but there is reason to believe that both of them emanate from a single prototype the immediate successors of which had begun to exhibit some variants at the time when our MSS. were copied.

That the Arabic style used in the text is a translation from Syriac is made abundantly clear by the fact that genuine Syriac words and complete Syriac sentences are found in it; indeed, even the mere construction of the Arabic sentences denotes sometimes a Syriac original. There is, however, a passage which in both MSS. is worded in rhymed prose. If such a passage is to be considered also a translation from Syriac, we shall be bound to admit that the translator allowed himself a great amount of freedom in his work. A note that I have added at the foot will assist the reader to form his own opinion on the subject.

The Arabic used in the text is most unclassical and is full of grammatical and lexicographical mistakes; indeed it represents the lowest type of Christian Arabic used in Church services, but it can be

[1] P. 147 in Zotenberg's Catalogue.

[2] The MS. was recently acquired by me in North Mesopotamia.

illustrated by scores of similar tracts written in the same non-Arab Arabic. I have collated the two MSS. and placed in the footnotes the various readings which appeared to me of some importance. The variants which were of purely orthographical order, or which were clearly due to a slip on the part of the copyists, have been completely ignored. I have generally followed in my transcription the orthography used in P., but this does not imply that that orthography is always the best. To save space I had simply to follow one of the two MSS., and I decided to follow generally P. rather than M.

The Arabic text is printed in Garshūni (Arabic in Syriac characters), as it was found in the MSS., and a facsimile of each MS. is given to show the reader its palæographical peculiarities. The translation which I have adopted often gives only the meaning rather than a literal rendering of the original, and always follows the text that is printed in the main page to the exclusion of that found in the footnotes.

B.

I have attached to the above Arabic treatise a Syriac Canon attributed also to Ignatius of Antioch and evidently culled from a collection of ecclesiastical Canons used by the West Syrian Church. It is taken from Syr. Cod. Mingana 1, fol. 194b in Rendel Harris Library, Brimingham. The date of the MS. is 27 March, 1884, of the Greeks (A.D. 1553). A facsimile of all the page on which the Canon is written accompanies the translation.

TRANSLATION.

A.

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, one God, we will begin with the assistance of God to write the epistle of the holy Mar Ignatius *the fiery* on admonition and exhortation to priests. May his prayers be with us! Amen!

He said:

O my brethren and O my beloved priests and deacons, and O bishops, listen to me and hear my words to you. You wish to be watchful and ever ready; purify, therefore, your bodies and sanctify your souls so that the Lord may not destroy you. Wipe off dirt from

your hearts, put your accounts in order, and clean out of your consciences envy, deceitfulness, and other iniquities, so that Jesus Christ may not put an end to you as He did to the priests who preceded you.

O my brethren, open your hearts in order that the Christ may cause love, quiet, peace, and safety to abide in them, and everything that is congruous[1] to the Lord in order that you may have pleasure with Him, and rejoice in His grace, and sit for ever at His right.

O my beloved, because the first Adam did not stand by his birthright, that is to say his chastity and his holiness, but transgressed the command of his Lord, he was separated from his kingdom, and became a stranger to his possessions, and went out of the paradise of his inheritance. The Lord then decreed[2] and ordered[3] death against him because of his transgression, and struck him with the sword of the devastating fire, and threw him in the dark city of death where he became subject to the latter, and because of his prevarications this same death ruled over him for seven thousand years.[4]

O my brethren look at the accursed Cain, the second priest, and the abominable, impure, accursed, and murderous man; because the desire of killing dwelt in him, his sacrifice was refused, and out of jealousy he murdered his brother, and became separated from God and from his fathers,[5] accursed and anathematized, and was a vagabond and a fugitive in this world, and was the first man to enter hell.

O my brethren. . . .[6]

O priests (listen to) the saying of Moses, the head of the prophets, who cried with his voice and said to the priests and the deacons:[7] "Sanctify yourselves because you serve the Holy One."[8] O priests who have lost their priesthood, and transgressed the rules of their

[1] Here begins a lacuna in M.
[2] The Syr. *gzar*.
[3] Possibly *sallaṭa*, or *ḳada*.
[4] Has this date a literal and historical meaning, or does it refer to a mysterious and mystical number? It is useful here to remark that the era of the Syrian Greeks and Melchites began 5508 years before Christ (Angelo Mai, *Script. Vet. Nova Collectio*, iv. 60). If the number 7000 is here to be taken literally the date of the composition of the document would be A.D. 1492. In this case the document would be of Melchite origin, but then what about the Syriac words and expressions that it contains? A Melchite of A.D. 1492 would not have inserted Syriac words and expressions in an Arabic document of which he was the author.
[5] Which fathers?
[6] A lacuna in Paris MS.
[7] Levites?
[8] Cf. Levit. xx. 7.

Master, obey the prescriptions of your Master and do not neglect His word. Do not make light of the offices of the Church of God and do not despise the majesty which belongs to the holy altar, and to the One who is offered on it.

O high-ranked priests, do you not see those who[1] serve the earthly kings how neat and clean they are, and how careful they are in washing their hands and keeping their clothes clean. Examine how similarly kept are the utensils which are[2] on the table such as plates, drinking vessels, goblets, and wine utensils and cups in which there are no dregs[3] nor feculence of any kind, and also the ordinary bread and thin bread: how neat and clean everything is, without any deficiency or defect. People line up erect to honour[4] earthly kings[5] who are human beings like ourselves and mortals sons of mortals; O my brethren, with how much more care should we, therefore, guard the Divine table, and serve it efficiently with faithfulness and holiness and with an outward appearance in which there is no defect and imperfection of any kind.

O my brethren, great[6] woe be to the priests who[7] do not keep their priesthood with good works. The Church and its children weep over the priest who sins, and give also woe to the deacon who does not act in the right way. How can the one who acts badly penetrate into the inner part of the house of God? It is not right, therefore, that an iniquitous priest should offer the sacrifice of other people and enter into the holy church of God, nor is it right that his unclean hands should handle that holy body, and be dipped[8] in the blood of the Lord. How can a priest who is not clean in his actions sacrifice that holy body which was lifted up on the Cross, and before which the companies of angels stand in awe and the choirs of heaven in fear, while they are unable to contemplate its splendour? How can any one who is impure and immoral dare handle it with his dirty hands? How can also any one who is an occasion of scandal to other people sacrifice that sublime, high, holy and pious body, who hates the drunkards and the immoral people? Have you not heard then what He says in the pure Gospel:[9] "Scandal will arise but

[1] Read *al-ladhīn*.
[2] Read *al-lati*.
[3] The Persian *dard*.
[4] Syr. *iḳār*.
[5] Read *mulūk* (in plural).
[6] Read *al-alīm*.
[7] Read *al-ladhīn*.
[8] An unclassical Arabic word.
[9] Here ends the lacuna in M.

woe to the man through whom scandal comes."[1] He also says: "Ye are the salt of the earth; but if the salt has lost its savour wherewith shall it be seasoned? It is thenceforth good for nothing, neither for the land nor for the dung, but it is cast out and trodden under foot[2] by men"[3] and it also becomes a vile object and an example.

O my brethren, there is no sin in the earth more terrible than that of a priest, for which there is no forgiveness. O my friends, lament and weep continually over the priest who did not fear sin. The weeping of the terrestrial people not being sufficient for him, the inhabitants of heaven weep also over him: the Seraphim like whom he was holy, and out of whose sanctification[4] he fell. The blessed Cherubim weep also over him, because his sweet lyre is silent of their melodious tunes.[5] The angels and the High Companies (of the Archangels) weep over him, because through his bad works the voice of his praises has ceased to praise with theirs.

All those (of his pupils) who fell out of his command weep over him.

The weeping of the inhabitants of land and water not being sufficient for him, O holy Church gather together thy children, the celestial and the terrestrial, and come and set up wailing and lamentation over the infamous and accursed priest who has been wounded by sin. Weep also over the deacon who by his bad actions has become the companion of Satan. O my brethren, who is the man who does not weep over a priest who has estranged himself from his Master like that disciple Judas who sold his Master?

O Simon, head of the disciples, weep and lament over the shepherd who, after having been like you and after having taken from his Master like you that talent[6] in order to trade with it, has lost all the sheep, and his soul is drowned. O my brethren, who will not weep over the absolver of sins who falls into sin, and who will not weep

[1] Matt. xviii. 7.

[2] Read *tandās* for *tansād* in M.

[3] Luke xiv. 34, and Matt. v. 13. A combination of the text of both Matthew and Luke. Literally the sentence may mean: It is thenceforth good for nothing, neither as earth nor as manure.

[4] i.e. saying: holy, holy, holy, of Is. vi. 3.

[5] This sentence is wholly in Syriac in P.

[6] The Arabic word *badrah* means generally a great sum of money.

over a shepherd who becomes a wolf? Who will not weep over a watchman who becomes a thief, and who will not weep over a merchant who becomes a spy, and a physician who is wounded by sin and has no remedy? Weep, O Church, over your priest. Weep, O Simon and John, over your companion who left your companionship and became a stranger to you.

Who envied[1] you, O chaste one, and made you a fornicator? Who envied you, O pure one, and made of you an immoral man? Who envied you, O fasting man, and made of you a gluttonous man given to excess? Who envied you, O just one, and made of you a companion of the ignorant? Who envied you, O devout and pious one, and made you a wretch with the sinners? Who envied you, O man filled with sanctity, and made you sink in the sinfulness of iniquity? Who envied you, O fair one, and filled you with unholiness? Who envied you, O just man, and placed you in the company of sinners and enemies? Who envied you, O child (of the house), and made you a stranger to your father and your brothers? Who envied you, O near relative, and made you a stranger to your relations? Who envied you, O celestial one, and made you terrestrial? Who envied you, O truthful one, and made of you a liar, and filled you with sins and shameful deeds?

O you dear and beloved ram who became the prey of a wolf! O hart who fell in the snare! O you agile eagle who fell in the net! O warrior[2] who was beaten and ran away! O athlete who took to flight! O mariner whose ship has sunk! O husbandman whose corn has perished! O steward[3] who squandered his treasures! O table-companion[4] who left his place at the table! O bridegroom whose bridal chamber did not please him! O mighty King whose

[1] Read *hasadaka* for *ḥadasaka* in M. and note the rhymed prose of the following few sentences, possibly due to a free translation; if, however, it could be proved from this that the document was originally written in Arabic, its date could not have preceded the ninth century; but we must admit that such phenomena occur sometimes in Arabic translations from Syriac. A free translation of this kind has even affected the sacred text of the Gospels. I saw in Jazīrat b. 'Umar, on the Upper Tigris, a MS. which contained the Arabic translation of the Gospels by the very famous Ebedjesu of Nisibin, wholly written in rhymed prose.

[2] Read *mubāriz* for *māriz*.

[3] Transliteration of the Syriac word *parnāsa*. [4] Syr. *ḥīpha*.

crown fell from his head! O judge condemned for his ignorance! O chieftain who lost the greatness of his headship! O wealthy one who became poor by his will! O sun whose rays have perished! O moon whose light has suffered eclipse! O seed of pure wheat which has been mixed[1] up with tares! O beautiful and lovely flower which has been smitten by the blighting wind[2] of sin! O admirable rose the beauty of which has perished in the frost of ignorance! O pomegranate-flower[3] which withered in the midday heat[4] of sin and iniquity.

Where are you O Paul and Timothy? Where are your warnings, your canons, and your conditions, which to-day your companions have transgressed by stumbling? O just Power, for how long wilt Thou not utter the cry of vengeance against the priests? Where are Thy punishments and Thy zeal against the ancients? How is it that Thou art silent now? Heaven is amazed at such a silence. Where is the heart that can stand it and not break? O my brethren, that just Power which has equalized justice to all mankind, has left everything to the next world, in which each one of us shall answer for his actions.

O my brethren, let us place the judgment of God before our eyes, because we cannot avoid answering for our words and for all those He confided to our care: the souls redeemed by the innocent blood of God,[5] and we have to return them as we received them. He gave us a pact to the effect that we shall worship Him, be with Him, and shepherd His flock.[6]

O my brethren, the sin of a priest is a wound which has no remedy. O my brethren, at the time the priest sins, sadness overtakes the multitude of angels in heaven. What shall we say concerning those who believed that they had no sins, while Satan robbed and plundered them? They asserted that God is forgiving and merciful, and they did not know that God is also a just and equitable judge. O my brethren, let the story of Ananias and his wife inspire

[1] Syr. *Ḥabbel* = *ithḥabbal*. [2] Syr. *shauba*.
[3] Persian *guli-anār* or *gulnār*. It is somewhat strange that the author should have used a Persian word.
[4] Arab *ẓuhrīyah* from Syr. *Ṭakrāyātha*. In P. *ẓuhirāt*.
[5] Was the author a Monophysite?
[6] Syr. *Mar'itha*.

you with fear, and take fright at the spectacle of those priests who were burned for small sins. O my brethren, be afraid of the story of Korah and Abiram, because all of them have become a mirror to us so that we may hear what happened to them and fear; and do not sin and serve Satan like them.

O priest, who is the one who will not weep over you? O great one and O confidential steward,[1] brother of Simon and John, it has been laid down that no one be appointed to priesthood except the one who is blameless, and lo there is to-day shame and dishonour in your bed; and we do not find it difficult to cover you up! O exiled one, who has been separated from his service,[2] and his high office, we weep over the high office of priesthood which you have besmirched by your iniquitous act; and we do not feel any sorrow at the beauty of your stature! O ignorant one who did not know his own self, we weep over the crown of holiness which you have dishonoured by your bad deed! The Lord had established you as a mediator between Him and His Father, and not a mediator to the idols; you did not approach priesthood in order to induce people to sin and detach them from God, but to uplift them and bring them nearer to Him.

Woe to your spirit when your companions sit on the twelve thrones[3] and you are driven out like the one who wore dirty garment. Lo shame is in your bed and it pleases you to dishonour your bed, and you make light of it.[4] You have changed your zeal to your Master for a zeal to another master, and you have become a stranger to Him, and that is why fire will consume your body without getting satiated with it. O my brethren, there will not be mercy in the day of judgment and decision for an unchaste priest, and he will not be allowed to approach his throne, but he will be driven out like the five foolish virgins. It is for this reason that the Apostle Paul cried and said: "If a person desire priesthood he desireth a good desire."[5] Lo to-day the priests of the different peoples desire the office of headship while they are far from real priesthood[6] and remote from its works.

[1] Arab. *mutahakkik*, evidently a translation of the Syr. *sharrīra*.
[2] Syr. *Tishmishta*. [3] Matt. xix. 28.
[4] Here as above the author seems to allude to immoral acts of a private character.
[5] 1 Tim. iii. 1. The author follows the Syriac version which has "priesthood" instead of "episcopacy."
[6] Read *Kahnūtihim*.

O my brethren, listen to what has been enacted against those who bear the yoke of priesthood but make light of it or neglect it: they shall burn with those two hundred and fifty priests who were burnt[1] with their censers.[2]

O brethren, O priest, O deacon, any deacon who approaches[3] his wife in the time of the fast that the Saviour fasted[4] will not find mercy in that great day, the day of landmark and finality; this will happen also if he approaches her on the occasion of a festival, or on a Friday, or on a Wednesday. Anyone who approaches his wife in one of these days, his burning shall be with the fire of Sodom. This does not apply to the children of the Church, the laymen, but it is advantageous also for them to abstain from marriage in the above mentioned days.

O my brethren, the priests should not neglect, but should be diligent in, their service and careful with the vestry of the holy altar and the belongings of the Church. O my brethren, any priest who makes light of them or neglects them, and serves with them in this state the holy body which was lifted up on the wood of the cross—I say to him that his lot shall be with those who cast lots upon the garments of Christ; with such shall his share be without pity; also the priests who steal from the belongings of the Church, and from what pertains to it in the matter of the ex-votos of orphans and widows who gave them on behalf of their sins: heaven and earth shall weep over such priests, and their sin is greater that that of those who became the companions of Ananias and his wife.

O my brethren, a priest entering (a church?) to offer sacrifice[5] with a heart in which there is rancour against his brother, is like Cain the murderer. A priest who sees a needy person and does not help him, or a thirsty person in want of a drop of water and does not quench his thirst, and a priest who sees a sick person and turns his face from him, will have no share in paradise. Accursed is the priest who does not know his own self, who dishonours himself with such sins; such a one will be separated from his service and his

[1] Num. xvi. 35. [2] Syr. *perma*.
[3] M. "any priest or deacon who approaches." [4] i.e. Lent.
[5] Syr. *Ḳaddesh* which commonly means "to say mass, to consecrate," the former sense is relatively late for a supposedly early document. P. has *yataḳaddas* "to make himself holy."

priesthood, and the Father will rebuke him for not having served his office rightly and justly ; the Son of the Father will not accept him ; the Holy Spirit will avoid him, and all the celestial multitudes will push him out to inherit hell where he will receive a just retribution for his service.

Because he did not perform the duties of his priesthood with piety and devotion,[1] the angels will take away from him the imposition of the hands[2] of priesthood, which had fallen on his head, and they will push him out to hell in company of the impure, unchaste, and ignorant people ; there he will weep and wail and also gnash his teeth. The priest, however, who performs the duties of his priesthood with devotion and piety, and offers sacrifice to God with holiness, and serves before Him with good order and pious deeds, will be served by God and by the multitudes of angels, who will exalt his office and his priesthood ; and he will live in pleasure in the company of Simon, the head of the Apostles, and he will be placed among all[3] the Fathers, the Saints, the Prophets, and the Doctors of the Church.[4]

Similarly the deacons who leave the office of Stephen and of those preachers who serve the church, will go and serve Satan and his armies. What shall I say about them ; on the one hand if I keep silence, such a silence may lead to misunderstanding, and if I speak my heart will not allow me to rebuke them, but truth itself sits in judgment against them. Instead of requiring from every deacon good works, fasting and prayer, vouched for by good men,[5] we present to-day to this high office men who are uneducated, ignorant, not steeped in piety, untruthful, and having no witnesses to vouch for their veracity and uprightness. (The deacons) are thus liars, transgressors, drunkards, haters of their service,[6] haters of the Church, haters of fast and prayers, insolent, and proud like Satan. Those who are addicted to such vices and have left the commandments and the law of God and do not turn to penitence will from this world receive punishment for ever and ever.

[1] Is it the Syr. *hrīrūtha ?* [2] Syr. *Siam-īdha.*

[3] The translator has joined the pronoun with *kull* as it is done in Syriac.

[4] This is a relatively late pronouncement.

[5] We are told in an unpublished work of ecclesiastical Canons (Syr. MS. Mingana 32 fol. 36a, in Rendel Harris Library, Birmiugham) that three witnesses of high integrity are required to testify to the piety of the man who is to be ordained deacon.

[6] Syr. *Tishmishta* as above.

The deacon has to obey orders and commandments ; he is not to neglect any virtue that pleases God : fast, prayer, holiness, and piety. O my beloved (deacon), you should not neglect your soul on the pretence that you have not the yoke of priesthood. O my brother, fear the day of reckoning and punishment and the furnace[1] of fire. O my brother, obey the injunctions of God, and lend your neck to the yoke of Christ ; be sweet-tempered and humble[2] towards your brethren, and love the strangers, the poor, and the beggars. O my brother, educate yourself and the people of Christ ; when you go to the altar in order to perform your duties[3] take care and pains to do it in good order so that you may please your Lord ; let us examine our accounts and see whether we have any hatred towards our neighbours, and whether we have only love and peace.

O my brother, the deacon who neglects prayers will be judged with Satan, and the deacon who disregards the duties of his service[4] will be in a place where there is no praise of God and where he will be ministered to by the furnace[5] of fire ; the deacon who frequents the company of drunkards, the worm that does not die will be intoxicated from him ; the deacon who leaves the Church on the night of Sundays and festivals, and wishes to drink wine, the Church of heaven will drive him out to where she will not hear his voice ; the deacon on account of whom God is mocked at, would to God that he had never existed ; the deacon who causes uproar and discord in the Church, will be consumed by fire alive ; the deacon who fails to control his soul and his desires,[6] will be far from heaven ; the deacon who makes use of marriage and comes to perform his duties,[7] the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost will be angry with him ; the deacon who goes to the altar while intoxicated, the spirit of justice will rebuke him ; the deacon who commits a sin and does not confess it and repent, his torment will be eternal and perpetual.

O my brethren, if you have accepted this order for the satisfaction of the desires of your soul, you will not have forgiveness, and you will suffer with Satan ; but if you have accepted this order to serve the

[1] Syr. *Shalhaibitha.*
[2] Syr. *makkekh.*
[3] Syr. *shamli.*
[4] Again the Syr. *Tishmishta.*
[5] Syr. *Shalhaibitha* as above.
[6] The text is obscure and the sense doubtful.
[7] Syr. *Shamli.*

Lord who was crucified on your behalf, do not be the servants of Satan. O my beloved, avoid the service of Satan, intoxication, pride,[1] and gluttony, and do not disappoint anyone,[2] and avoid also lies which are[3] a sign of the sad unbelief of the world. O my brethren, have you not heard what the divine Apostle Paul said: "neither fornicators, nor adulterers, nor thieves, nor drunkards, nor abusers of themselves with men, none of these will inherit the kingdom of heaven and cross (the bridge ?) to it." ?[4]

O my beloved, keep your soul from sin, and purify your body from bad passions so that you may not suffer. O my brethren, the deacons who walk in the way of God, keep His Commandments, serve the Church with piety, serve the people of God, and long for fast and prayer, the angels will long to meet them, and will also accompany them and take them to heaven on their wings in order that they may enjoy bliss and happiness with the priestly Fathers, and the pious, in the kingdom of heaven the joys of which will not cease, and be glorified at the table of Christ, as His holy mouth uttered: "Where I am there my servant shall be."[5] There you will also hear the sweet voice: "Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you before the foundation of the world."[6] You will also be table-guests of the angels,[7] and along with martyrs (and) evangelists[8] you will receive ample reward; and you will serve and rejoice with Stephen.

We who are plunged in sin ask God not to make us deserve hell, but the above grace and virtue. To Him are fitting glory, honour, majesty, and power, with His Father, and His Holy Spirit, now, at every time, and for ever and ever. Amen.

(Colophon.)

(Here recite) *Pater Noster.* May the grace of God be with the weak and miserable scribe, with the pious readers, and with the blessed hearers! May we have mercy upon us through the prayer of the

[1] *taḳahrum:* curious word formed from the Persian *ḳahramān.*

[2] Read *tukhayyibu.*

[3] The author uses the feminine pronoun *hiya* under the influence of the Syriac word *Kaddābūtha* which he was rendering.

[4] 1 Cor. vi. 9, with some changes.

[5] John xii. 26.

[6] Matt. xxv. 34.

[7] Read *malā'ikah* in M.

[8] Read *mubashshirīn* in M.

mother of Fire, the queen of the worlds, the Mother of God,[1] hoping that the Lord will deliver us from fire in the day of judgment! Amen! May the grace of God be with us all! Amen! Amen!

This has ended by the help of God.[2]

Translation.

B.

"Of Ignatius *the fiery* (Canon) 38. We observe the night of Wednesday because in it our Lord announced His passion to His disciples,[3] and they were troubled with sorrow[4]; we observe the night of Friday because in it our Lord was seized by the Jews; we do not observe the night of Saturday, because in it there was rest to all the dead of Sheol, at the descent of our Lord to them. He who does not observe the night of Friday and Wednesday, will be condemned with those who bound our Lord on the night of Friday, and those who observe the night of Saturday, will be condemned with those who broke the legs of the robbers, in order that the Sabbath day may not begin for them and that they may not be condemned in the eyes of the law."

C.

When all the above pseudo-Ignatian matter was in the press I discovered the following quotations from Ignatius in Mingana Syr. MS. 37, written about A.D. 1450 (in Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham).

[1] The MS. is of Jacobite origin.

[2] The closing sentence of the text and the colophon are as follows in P.: "And there you will receive ample reward with the angels and the evangelists, and you will serve and rejoice with Stephen. And we who are plunged in sin pray the Lord not to torment us in hell but (to make us deserve?) that grace, virtue, and piety. May honour, glory, majesty, and thanks be to the Holy Trinity, now, at every time, and for ever and ever, and on us all be His grace! It has ended by the help of God." [This last sentence is in Syriac.]

[3] The ecclesiastical day begins in the East in the afternoon of the previous day.

[4] Or: moved by affliction.

1°

The Ignatian Canon translated above is given in the following form on fol. 44a: "Ignatius the Fiery says: We observe the night of Wednesday because in it our Lord announced His passion to His disciples, and He was moved by affliction. We observe the night of Friday because in it our Lord was seized by the Jews and struck on the face by the servant of the High Priest, and was tied to a column.[1] We do not observe the night of Saturday because in it there was rest to all the souls of the dead in Sheol by the descent of our Lord to them."[2]

2°

On fol. 28a of the same MS. there is the following genuine quotation from Ignatius not found in the fragments edited by Cureton and Lightfoot.

ايهاخمهه . انحه ؤنوا انحه سحمحا انحه هحصؤنا ؤحكب
ؤحكاهكؤب ؤحكاهكتا . كحم ؤحب معهد كهسا الحكم حمكؤمحا
هكؤحؤناها .

"*Ignatius:* Where is the disputer? Where is the wise man? Where is the boaster of those who are called intelligent? For our God Jesus the Christ was conceived by Mary according to an economy." *Ad Ephes.*, xviii.

This is an exact translation of the Greek of Ignatius as edited by Lightfoot (*Apostolic Fathers*, ii., 74) with the exception that "where is the wise man" is placed before "where is the boaster" and that instead of "boaster" there is in Greek "boasting" Καύχησις. The Syriac translation, however, brings the text of Ignatius nearer to 1 Cor i., 31.

[1] The idea of our Lord having been tied to a column seems to be much later than the time of Ignatius.

[2] Fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays, but not on Sundays, is in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (fol. 10b of the same MS.).

ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܐ ܘܐܡ ܐܚ ܐܘ ܐܚܬ ܐܘ ܐܒ ܐܘ ܐܡ

[illegible] ... [illegible] ... [illegible] ... [

[1] Here ends the lacuna of M. [2] M omits. [3] M adds. [4] M erroneously adds. [5] P omits. [6] M adds. [7] M adds. [8] M omits. [9] This is a complete Syriac sentence in P. In M it is translated into Arabic as follows: [illegible]. [10] M adds. [11] P adds. [12] M omits. [13] M omits.

[1] omits. [2] omits. [3] . [4] .
[5] . [6] . [7] . [8] .
[9] omits. [10] omits. [11] . [12] omits.
[13] . [14] omits. [15] .

[ ][1] ... [2][...] ... ...

ܗܕܐ ܕܟܝ ܐܢ ܕܒܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪ

ﻛﻤﻚ ﺯﻣﺴﻮ ﺍﻳ ﻣﻬﻜﻤﻮ ﺍﻓﺎﻣﻮ ﻛﻤﻪ ﺍﺯﻧﻌﻮ ﺩﻫﻪ ﺩﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﻮ
ﻣﻨﻴﻮﻣﻮ ﻛﻤﻚ ﻫﻮﻫﻪ ﻛﻤﻪ ﺑﻜﻪ ﻳﻜﻮ ﻛﻤﻚ ﺑﻜﻪ ﻛﻤﻪ [ﺩﻫﻮ][1] ﻫﻪﻫﻪﻣﻮ.
ﻛﻤﻮ ﻣﻮﻣﻮ ﻣﻴﻨﻮ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ ﻣﻨﻴﻮﻣﻮ ﻛﻤﻪ ﺍﻫﻮ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﻬﻮﻫﻪ ﻛﻤﻪ ﺍﻟﻮ
ﻛﻤﻮ [ﻫﻪﻫﻮ][3] ﻣﻮﻫﻪ ﻣﻮ ﻣﻴﻨﻮ [ﻣﻴﻨﻮ][2] ﻳﻤﻮﻫﻪ ﻛﻮﻫﻮ ﻣﻮ ﻛﻤﻪ ﻛﻤﻮ
ﻫﻪﻫﻮ ﻣﻮ ﺍﻳ ﻳﻜﻪ ﻛﻤﻪ ﻳﻜﻪ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ ﻣﻮ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ. ﻣﻪ ﻛﻤﻪ ﻣﻮ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ
ﻛﻤﻮ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ ﻣﻪ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ ﻣﻮ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ ﻛﻤﻪ ﻛﻤﻮ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ ﻣﻪ
ﻫﻪﻫﻮ ﻣﻪ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ ﻣﻪ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ
ﻫﻪﻫﻮ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ ﻫﻪﻫﻮ

ܗܘ ܕܟ ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ [ܐܠܗ][1] ܐܘ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܕܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ

[1] omits. [2] omits. [3] M omits. [4] M omits.
[5] P omits. [6] P omits. [7] P omits. [8] P omits. [9] M omits.
[10] P omits. [11] M omits. [12] P omits. [13] M omits. [14] M omits.
[15] M omits. [16] P omits. [17] M omits.

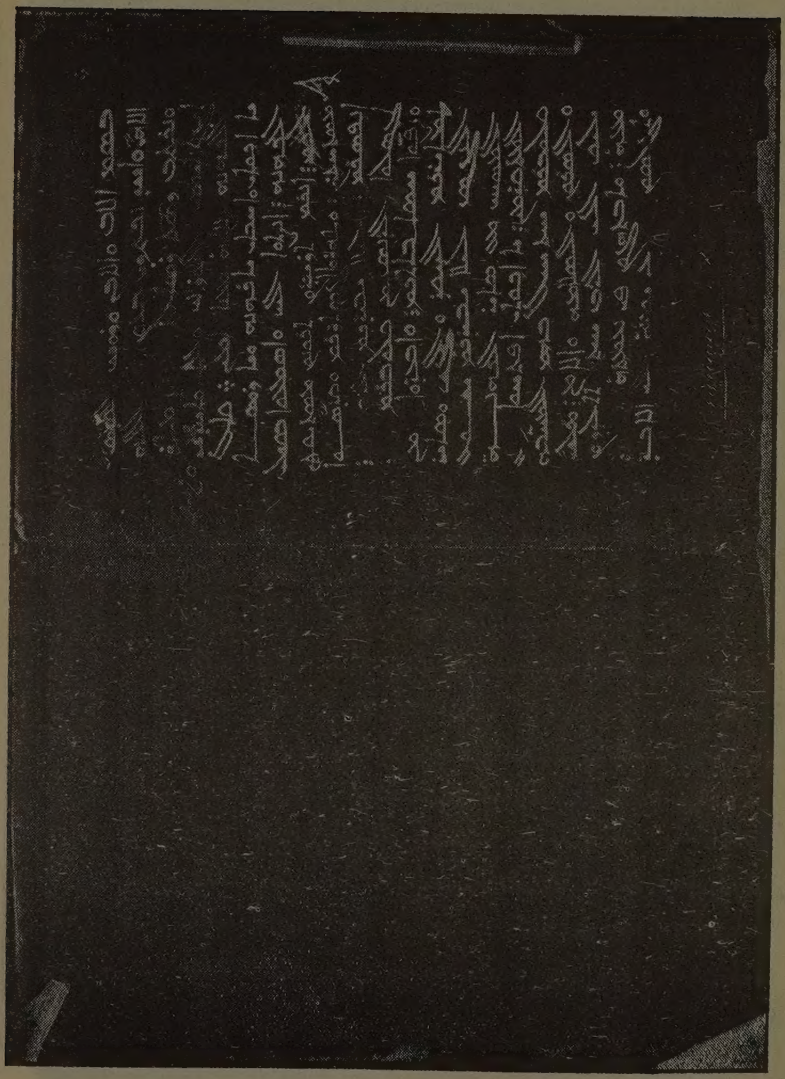
[1] M عقوبة. [2] M omits. [3] M omits. [4] P omits.
[5] M مخلوقات. [6] P الى آخر الجملة. [7] M omits.
[8] M مصطفاه. [9] M omits. [10] P omits. [11] M omits.
[12] M omits. [13] M معنى. [14] M omits. [15] P مصوصة.
[16] M مصوصة.

[1]سبحانك اللهم وبحمدك نشهد أن لا إله [كذا][2] إلا أنت نستغفرك ونتوب إليك [وصلى][3] الله على محمد النبي [وآله][4] وسلم [وآخر][5] دعوانا أن الحمد لله رب العالمين [وصلى][6] الله على محمد النبي وآله وسلم تسليما كثيرا.

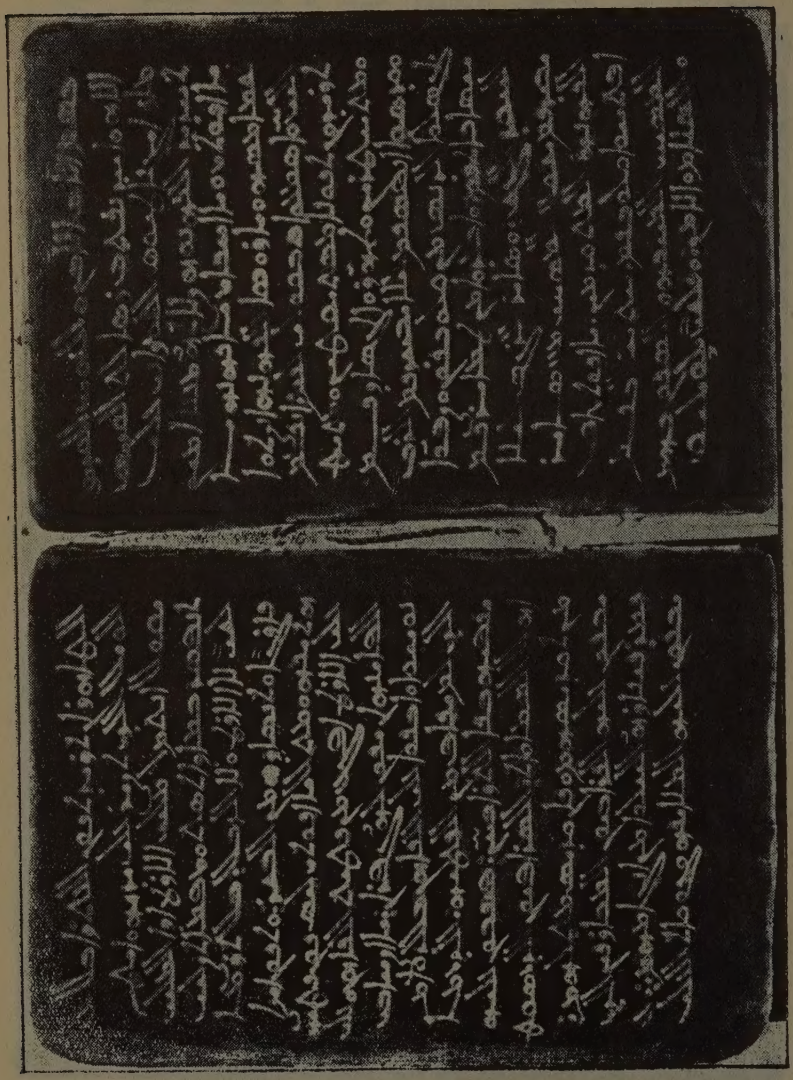
The closing sentences of the text and the Colophon are in P as follows :

وصلى الله على محمد النبي وآله وسلم تسليما كثيرا وآخر دعوانا أن الحمد لله رب العالمين (*sic*) وصلى الله على محمد النبي وآله وسلم تسليما كثيرا. تم الكتاب بحمد الله وحسن توفيقه وصلى الله على محمد النبي وآله وسلم تسليما كثيرا وآخر دعوانا أن الحمد لله رب العالمين. تم الكتاب بحمد الله وحسن توفيقه.

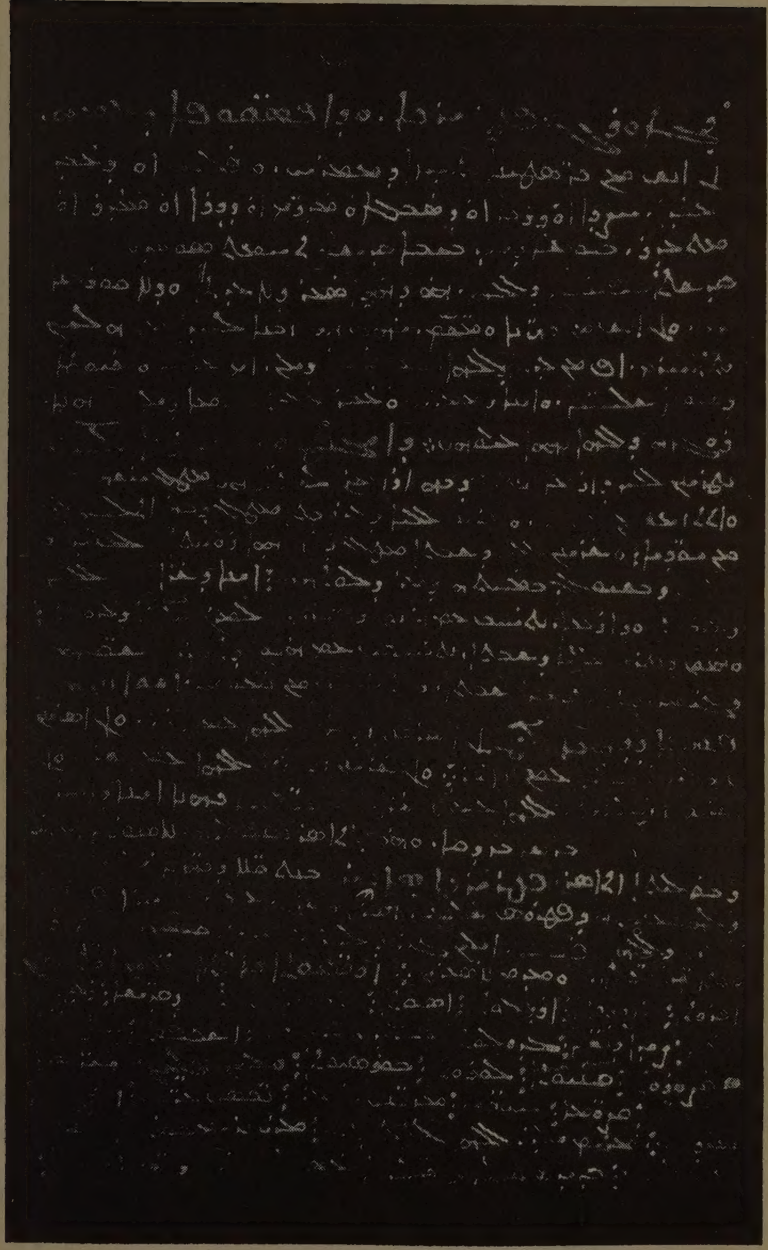
[1] M سبحانك. [2] M omits. [3] M وصلى. [4] P omits. [5] M omits. [6] M وآخر دعوانا.



IGNATIUS. (FACS. OF THE FIRST PAGE OF P.)



IGNATIUS. (FACS. OF THE FIRST PAGE OF M.)



CANON OF IGNATIUS.